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Editorial Comment

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"Ye Shall Know the Truth"

IRRESPECTIVE of the merit or lack of merit of the reorganization bill which was defeated by the House of Representatives in the midst of the biggest barrage of telegrams in history, there is one point we should like to make clear.

In arguing on March 12th against the bill which would provide for the reorganization of the executive branch of the national government, Mark Sullivan, whose column appears in fifty-four newspapers, commented that the authors of the bill knew more about local government than national, and he added:

"Now between city government and national government there is a conspicuous difference. . . . The modern 'city manager' idea contemplates almost the extinction of the functions of the city council."

This, of course, is absurd. Readers of the REVIEW will be interested in the following correspondence designed to check the error at its source.

LETTER TO MR. SULLIVAN

"Students of municipal government will be surprised at your statement in Saturday's *Herald Tribune*: 'The modern city manager idea contemplates almost the extinction of the functions of the city council.'

"This statement is so completely at variance with fact and experience that we hope you will take the opportunity offered by some future occasion to correct the impression undoubtedly left with your many readers.

"As a matter of fact, exactly the reverse is true of the city manager form of government. The authority of the council, or legislative branch, is supreme—infinitely more so than under the council-mayor form. Under the manager form the council not only is the policy-determining body but has authority to dismiss the manager at any time. How, by way of contrast, would a council (even if it were inclined to) go about curbing a mayor like Hague?

"To quote from the pamphlet, *The Story of the City Manager Plan*:

> The voters elect members of the council who in turn appoint and may remove the city manager, a trained administrator and not a politician. He in turn appoints and may remove all heads of departments, and, subject to civil service provisions, is responsible for the appointment and removal of all other officers and employees in the administrative service of the city. While the council may remove the manager at any time, it may not interfere with him in making appointments or removals; neither may the council give orders to any employee in the administrative service of the city, except through the city manager.

"This, surely, is a business-like arrangement for any corporation, whether it be municipal or private. You have only to look at the 3,069 counties throughout the country to see the result of a complete lack of an executive head.

"There is much authoritative literature concerning the council-manager plan, the form which permitted the city of Cincinnati, for example, to change

almost overnight from being the worst governed city in America to the best governed, and surely many of your readers would appreciate your giving them a more accurate picture of it."

MR. SULLIVAN'S REPLY

"You are right. I suppose that under the city manager plan a city council has even more power in the policy-making field than it has with a mayor; and I suppose the reduction of the city council's power in the field of actual administration is not material, compared to its increase of power in policy-making.

"I will find an early opportunity to make a correction on this point."

"Comes the Revolution!"

WHEN three of the five trustees of the village of Mamaroneck, New York, a residential suburb of New York City, voted a month ago to fire Village Manager R. J. Whitney, there resulted what amounts to a revolution.

The people took the only immediate avenue of protest open to them. Petitions were circulated in the midst of the worst snowstorm of the season and in four days signatures equal to 60 per cent of those who voted in the spring election were signed to a demand for the "early reappointment" of Manager Whitney. Those who circulated the petitions said they could have had as many signatures as there were spring voters but they didn't bother to cover some sections of the community because they thought this would be a sufficient showing.

There was good reason for the "revolution." The people have been impressed by the fact that operating costs in the last six years have averaged $341,556 annually as compared with an average of $483,654 in the preceding six years; and they rather preferred 1937's tax rate of $16.80 to the 1930 rate of $19.93.

They refused to accept the excuse for the manager's dismissal—that he wanted to buy one kind of incinerator while three members of the board insisted on buying from another manufacturer. The manager, a graduate engineer, presumably knew something about incinerators, and his judgment was backed by the contractor member of the board and one other.

Regardless of the outcome of the fight, the old lesson that all communities who want continued good government must learn has been tossed into the public classroom again.

The price of good government is citizen understanding and citizen participation.

While most public officials want to do their jobs well, there are still plenty of them who need to be shown that a sword of Damocles hangs constantly over their heads to punish them if they act selfishly instead of for the good of their community.

It may be less upsetting and less of an interference with social activities and evenings at the radio to sit back and let a boss like Hague of Jersey City or Pendergast of Kansas City do everything to suit himself, but the people of Mamaroneck have enjoyed the thrill of staging a revolution and feeling their own power.

If they fight this out to the end they seek, they will always know their strength in the future—and those in office will know that they will be held to account for their actions.

Education for Public Careers

SOME months ago a distinguished municipal official in New Zealand made a tour of cities in the United States to study trends and to get ideas which might help in the solution of problems at home. He had heard from time to time of great progress being made by some cities in "the states."

By the time he reached the National Municipal League office after visits to scores of cities on the west coast and in the middle west, he was beginning to feel like the man who bought the Brooklyn bridge.

Almost indignantly, he exclaimed, "I must say we have little to learn from your cities. Why, do you realize I actually found women serving as city treasurers whose only qualifications were that they were the widows of men who had held the same position?"

As gently as possible, he was informed that his discovery brought nary a blush of shame to people who had seen United States senators and even a governor chosen for somewhat the same reason. Of course, it was shocking to a man who, as a youth who had decided on a certain type of public career, had painstakingly gone through the necessary formal education and then had served years of apprenticeship before arriving in a post comparable to that of one of our city managers.

With a few exceptions, he felt most at home in our manager cities, which, in his opinion, were on the right track.

Educational preparation for careers in public administration is an old story in a number of other countries. It is so new in this country that it still squeaks.

Of the sixty-one colleges which are offering special courses which might qualify as providing this type of training, half of the courses were instituted less than five years ago, three-quarters of them within the last ten years, and even when the city manager plan, with its career ideal, had become an accepted fact a quarter of a century ago, there were virtually none.

Aside from the in-service training and the apprentice idea, both of which happily are becoming more and more widely accepted, a number of important efforts have been in progress for some years. The figures show that Wichita, Kansas, with its "college cop" plan of having juniors and seniors in Wichita University serve as cadet police before becoming full-fledged policemen upon graduation, is reaping results in decreased crime and more successful law enforcement.

We have a long way to go but, with the continued extension of the merit system to make public service worth while for the best of our youth, and with our institutions of higher learning doing constantly more thorough jobs, another generation should see development of a genuine career service ideal in American cities.

New Planning Department A new department "Planning — Including Zoning and Housing," is inaugurated in this issue. Progress and events in this increasingly important field will be reviewed each month under the direction of Alfred Bettman, prominent attorney and chairman of the City Planning Commission of Cincinnati, and Walter Blucher, executive director of the American Society of Planning Officials.

Wisconsin Counties as Political Chessmen

Partisan elections of county officials, with its consequent local political machinery, proves an aid in the election of state officials by the dominant party group.

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DURING the last regular session of the Wisconsin state legislature proposals for the nonpartisan election of county administrative officials arose in three different forms and at five distinct times. Beyond the ordinary interest in these proposals, the problem is of particular significance in Wisconsin because it brings into relief certain elements of the state constitution. That basic document of 1848 provides that "sheriffs, coroners, registers of deeds, district attorneys, and all other county officers except judicial officers shall be chosen by the electors of the respective counties once in every two years." This provision in itself would not preclude the possibility of nonpartisan elections, but another constitutional provision requires that the "legislature shall establish but one system of town and county government which shall be as uniform as practicable." Judicial interpretation has indicated that the method of election is part of the county system of government and must therefore be uniform throughout the state. The partisan method having been the original choice, it is the process which applies in all the counties today.

The attitude of the court makes it imperative that any movement to permit counties to provide nonpartisan elections must take one of several statewide forms. It may be a state law making nonpartisan elections the general method, a constitutional amendment providing the same, or a constitutional amendment revising the uniformity clause. It is barely possible that another method is still available, that of presenting a case before the court in such a manner that the questionable decision, which maintains that all counties are so nearly alike that identical forms of government are equally practicable, may be reversed. Recent studies of county government in Wisconsin indicate great heterogeneity not only in governmental needs but in governmental practices. A readjustment of judicial, legislative, and lay thinking in the light of 1938 is extremely vital to a real understanding of county government.

The significance of the recent movement for nonpartisan elections of county officials in Wisconsin seems to lie in the fact that of the five attempts to revise the status quo, one by statutory revision, three by referendum, and one by constitutional amendment, none was enacted. The suggestions were bitterly contested, and though it appeared for a time that one of the referendum measures would be enacted, eventually all were defeated.

Like most problems involving political machinery, the matter appears to have been judged on the basis of political expediency rather than the consequences of a change in the method of election of county officers on county administration. But even assuming that the real basis did lie in the political

effects of the change, no one sought to compile the data regarding past elections in order that a truly scientific approach to the problem might be made. It is the purpose of this paper to present briefly the results of a study of how the elections of county clerk, county treasurer, district attorney, register of deeds, and sheriff have come out in the seventy-one counties of Wisconsin during the twenty-year period between 1916 and 1936.

What party wins the county elections? For the twenty-year period the evidence is as follows:

Party	*Clerk*	*Treasurer*	*District Attorney*	*Sheriff*	*Register of Deeds*	*Total*
Republican	84.5%	84.2%	80.5%	79.7%	82.6%	82.3%
Democratic	10.4%	10.5%	12.5%	13.9%	12.6%	12.0%
Socialist	.4%	.7%	.4%	.7%	.5%	.4%
Progressive	4.7%	4.6%	6.6%	5.7%	4.3%	5.3%

Not only is the Republican domination obvious, but the relative consistency of that domination must be clear.

These statistics are intended to show the sum total of the distribution of party control of county offices in Wisconsin over a twenty-year period. They do not show the relative strength of the several parties today. Until 1934 there were two major parties in Wisconsin. In that year the Republican Party officially split into its Progressive and Stalwart elements, the former becoming the Progressive party. Since that time the domination of the Republican party has been greatly reduced. The following table shows the distribution of the five county offices in each of the seventy-one counties, among the several parties by years.

Year	*Republican*	*Democratic*	*Socialist*	*Progressive*
1918	308	33	14	0
1920	338	17	0	0
1922	335	20	0	0
1924	342	13	0	0
1926	333	22	0	0
1928	336	19	0	0
1930	329	25	1	0
1932	261	94	0	0
1934	171	92	0	92
1936	163	95	0	97

Not only do these figures accentuate the domination of one party, but they also indicate the relative uniformity of that domination until 1934. It would be hazardous to project this distribution into the future because of the unsettled condition of Wisconsin's politics. Certainly the relative strength of Progressive and Republican power has not yet been permanently established. A reduction in the currently large number of Democrats in county office may be anticipated. It would seem probable, however, that the domination of the Republican party in county offices is not seriously threatened.

LITTLE COMPETITION FOR COUNTY OFFICES

If it follows from the data above that the Republican party unquestionably dominates county elections, how does that domination affect the number of candidates for office? The evidence is as follows:

Uncontested elections	38%
Two candidates	35%
Three candidates	20%
Four candidates	4%
More than four candidates	3%

In virtually two out of five instances there has been no contest for county offices. Perhaps in some isolated instances this may be due to the fact that no one cares for county positions, improbable as that may seem, but it is more likely that the real reason is the futility of running against Republican candidates. This, however, does not mean that there was no contest in the primary election, but the available data is of such a nature that the number of

candidates for each party in the primary could not be readily compiled.

A further element in the picture may be the agreement between the county, state, and national elections. High agreement in party following would suggest that perhaps national and state policies determine county elections rather than county issues. To illustrate: what was the effect of the Rooseveltian landslide of 1932? In 1930 twenty-four Democrats were elected to the five county offices considered in this survey. In the 1932 election ninety-three were elected. It would indeed be a coincidence if almost four times as many officials of a different party were elected primarily because of a realignment of county party policies.

COUNTIES AND STATE AGREE POLITICALLY

A study was also made of just how each county voted during this period of twenty years for members of both houses of the state legislature, the governor, and president. In thirteen counties there was perfect agreement between the party which dominated the county elections and the party which won the assembly seats. Thirty counties agreed perfectly in their vote for county offices and seats in the state senate. While there was not a great deal of unanimity, particularly in the state-wide and national offices, the total percentage of agreement between the dominant county party and the party winning the various other offices enumerated was almost 75 per cent. In other words, in three out of four cases, the party which wins the county elections also wins the legislative seats, the gubernatorial and presidential contests.

It is this last point which undoubtedly forms the real basis for much of the objection to revision of the status quo. Particularly in those places represented by the 75 per cent of agreement, the state officials and county officers are interested in maintaining the integrating machinery which makes it possible for the state to have an organization in each county and for the county nucleus to float along in the stream of political protoplasm. While it is true that the average term of office for a county official during the period under consideration was seven years, the foregoing evidence tends to show that not the personality and the ability of the incumbent, but the adherence to the proper political party was the cause of this relatively long tenure. It is true also that individuality is considered. A person cannot hold county office for forty years through wide fluctuations in party control, as did one Wisconsin county officer, with only party support.

The advocates of continuing the present system of choosing county officials appear to reach a dilemma regardless of the approach they take to the indictments of the status quo. If they admit partisan control of county offices, they are faced by the lack of connection between any of these offices and county, state, or national principles. If, in spite of the foregoing evidence, they maintain that people vote for the man instead of the party, they admit the futility of partisan elections. Even if they could cite any sort of county partisan platform on which the candidates could stand, they could present no case for the partisan election of these county administrative officials whose powers are carefully delimited by statute.

As a final argument, the advocates of partisan elections suggest that while nonpartisan elections might become the theoretically legal method, actually no such thing would occur. They fear that the Stalwart groups would combine to defeat the Progressives. This obviously flatters the power of the Progressives because the statistical analysis shows that in 1936 three-fourths of the coun-

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Death of a Gerrymander

Attempts of Cleveland council to draw up new ward boundaries along political lines meet with decisive defeat.

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CLEVELAND'S council, having failed in a spectacular attempt to gerrymander, has now given up ward-making until after the next census. The suggestion by one of the newspapers last year that it was once more time for the biennial attempt at redistricting went unheeded. The once discarded and now grossly unequal wards of 1921, which have served since 1933 as a makeshift, were used again for the election of councilmen taking office in January of this year.

The present wards, from which one councilman each is elected in odd-numbered years, were laid out under the mayor-council government antedating the city manager regime. Under the manager system, however, members of the council were elected by proportional representation from four large districts. Wards lost their legal significance for council elections, but continued to serve as convenient areas for election administration. Their precincts retained a statutory importance for the election of members of county central committees of the major political parties, and the discarded wards continued to provide localized party leadership. Since the twenty-five seats in the P. R. council approximated the thirty-three wards in number, and especially when distributed among four districts, many a candidate could obtain his quota of votes in a single ward. This tended to localize elections, and, except in such rare cases as that of Professor Hatton,[1] candidates attached themselves to some ward. This meant that the council-manic ward politics, carried over from the manager regime and before, dominated all efforts to set up new wards.

Although the new charter adopted in 1931 abolished the managership immediately and provided for an early mayoralty election, it continued in office the P. R. council elected at the time of the change and directed it to ". . . . redivide the city into wards upon the basis of one ward for each thirty thousand population or major fraction thereof . . . . [with, of course, the usual provisions as to compact and contiguous territory with natural boundaries or street lines]. The division of the city into wards existing at the time of the adoption of this amendment [charter], shall continue until changed by the council as provided herein." The population of Cleveland in 1930 barely topped 900,000, which would have justified the creation of thirty wards. Ignoring a Citizens League proposal for ward boundaries early in 1932, the council, by appointment in November of a redistricting committee composed of one Republican and one Democrat from each of the P. R. districts, started what proved in 1933 to be a most interesting effort at gerrymandering.

[1]Dr. A. R. Hatton, then of Western Reserve University, who drafted the Cleveland P. R.-manager charter.—EDITOR.

Naturally both parties prepared redistricting ordinances, but with a Republican majority, the Democratic plan was lost from the first, and that of the Republicans was the basis of action. The inevitable fight for party election advantage set the objectives; that for the attainment of individual ambitions called for intraparty discipline; legal opinions provided obstacles; the existence of a Democratic mayor in opposition to a Republican majority in council imposed delays, two vetoes, and the difficulties of party discipline in overriding a veto; technical errors necessitated the passage of an emergency ordinance —vetoed and repassed. The referendum came to the rescue to override the overridden veto; pressure groups threatened an injunction; race prejudice and cohesion of nationality groups added embarrassments; and, finally, more charter changes were proposed. Meanwhile, the Board of Elections accepted petition nominations for the primary from the wards of 1921.

The 1931 election had given the Republicans an ordinarily comfortable majority of fifteen in a council of twenty-five. Two additional independent Republicans constituted a problem; eight Democrats furnished the opposition. The special mayoralty election having given the city a Democratic mayor armed with veto power, the Republicans could put their proposal into effect only if they could muster seventeen votes, the necessary two-thirds, to override a veto. They could not rely on one of the independent Republicans, for he really was independent. At first they were not sure of the other independent. Unfortunately for the Democrats, one of their members died, and the Republican majority dictated the council's choice of a faithful Republican successor. They now had, if they could count on just one of the independents, and could maintain full attendance of their group, the all-important seventeen votes. Illness of one of their staunchest members, however, delayed action so long that the Board of Elections let it be known that it would be impossible in the time remaining before the date of the primary election to arrange names on the registers according to any new wards. But this did not daunt the council.

SUGGESTED BOUNDARIES BENEFIT REPUBLICANS

The general plan as drafted by the Republicans, calling for thirty-one wards to avoid "tie votes" in council, drew fire from the Citizens League because of the unequal distribution of population. Some wards, expected to yield predominantly Republican votes, had far fewer inhabitants than those with anticipated Democratic leanings. It was alleged that some ten wards taken together would have "disfranchised" some eighty-eight thousand people in Democratic areas; or, more correctly, the votes in the five smallest of the Republican wards thus set up (ranging from about 19,000 to 27,000 population) would be worth more by fully half again than those in the five largest of the Democratic wards (ranging from about 32,000 to 45,000 population).

Aside, however, from general opposition on this score, three or four areas of friction caused considerable manoeuvring before completion of the final draft. The lake-shore tier of three wards, 1, 3, and 8, on the west side covered a predominantly Republican area, and the wards south of them were in Democratic territory. Four Republicans, three of them in council and one a former councilman barely defeated for re-election, had their main support in these three wards. Ward 1 at the west was primarily responsible for the

very independent member in council; ward 3, in the middle, furnished the bulk of votes for the then Republican floor leader in council; and ward 8 had been the battleground on which the third councilman had overthrown the ex-councilman as ward leader. Both of these latter gentlemen were Irish, and ward 8 was known as an Irish Republican ward. A Democratic west-side committeeman, vainly attempting to take advantage of the schism, proposed extending ward 8 southward to break up this Irish solidarity by the addition of people of another nationality group. The new leader of the 8th, however, desiring more security, was able with the consent of his neighboring councilman, the floor leader, to extend his lines somewhat westward instead. This, in turn, obliged the extension of ward 3 westward, much to the embarrassment of one independent Republican from the vicinity of ward 1, who now felt the wrath of the organization through the extension of his now attenuated ward southward to include many hostile Democrats.

To the far northeast of the city, two neighboring wards, 26 and 32, were to become three wards. The former, in the parts to retain the number 26, contained mainly native white Americans, and the other embraced large groups of foreign-born, Italians and Slovenians, employed in near-by factories and railway shops. Ward 26 was definitely Republican; ward 32, Democratic. Ward 32 had as its southern part a strip separated from the rest by railroad yards. This strip was composed of three parts: the eastern and western ends yielding Republican votes; the middle, inhabited by the foreign-born, yielding Democratic votes. The native American portions were taken from the old 32nd and combined with parts of the old 26th to make a ward 21. The colony of foreign-born was left in the old ward, but isolated south of the tracks. The new ward 26 exhibited an irregular projection eastward into the proposed 21st, accounted for by those in the neighborhood by the fact that within the block covered by this projection lived the secretary of the then 26th Ward Republican Club, the campaign manager of the then sitting councilman; in the block immediately north and relegated to the new 21st resided a dangerous opponent. And the law director had ruled that a councilman must reside in his ward.

Ward 20 in the center of the east side was populated by native white Americans ordinarily of Republican affiliation, but tempted somewhat by Democratic campaigners from wards to the north. One of the early proposals of the committee was to extend the 20th southward into the Negro-Republican area of the 18th and the western 19th. The junction lines of the 18th, 19th, and 20th are at one of the busiest subcenters of the city's trade, and the 19th contains in its heart, close to this business center, three institutions of higher learning, two large secondary schools, the home of the Cleveland orchestra, a park, and two museums. An organization representing real estate, apartment house, commercial, and other interests protested vigorously and threatened injunction proceedings. The final draft left that boundary of ward 20 where it had been.

As the time for the filing for candidacies in the primary election rapidly approached, the Republicans seized their first opportunity to act, when the member who had been ill once more took his seat. The opening of the council meeting that night was delayed nearly two hours while the Republican leaders assured their disgruntled members, especially the fallen leader of the 8th ward, that if the ordinance failed

to pass, election would have to be from the city at large—a political death sentence to most ward-type members. The resulting vote in council was seventeen to eight as anticipated. The Republican president of the council, held in public esteem but no longer anchored to a particular ward, leaving the chair during the hot debate, explained his vote by saying that there was no alternative to gerrymandering where election was by wards and renounced his council candidacy, since he said he did not care to be a mere errand boy to the city hall for little ward interests.

MAYOR VETOES REPUBLICAN ORDINANCE

The Democratic mayor took his full ten days for vetoing the ordinance; thus delaying action beyond the next meeting of the council. He then vetoed it on the ground that numerous errors had been discovered: that some four thousand people had been entirely omitted in one locality, and that several hundred in another had been included in each of two wards. It was useless at the next meeting of the council to repass the ordinance as it was, even though the necessary two-thirds vote was available. Feeling ran high, and when the respected veteran assistant law director ruled (after having hesitated on the matter earlier in the day) that the vetoed ordinance could not be reconsidered, one of the prominent Republican members denounced him for rendering a "political" opinion. When the councilman was generously booed by the throng, he wheeled about with the challenge, and repeated it, that he could "lick" any of his booers.

Reconsideration was abandoned, and, while other business was transacted, or while members argued in groups, Republican leaders retired hastily, revamped the ordinance, and then introduced it as an emergency measure which, with the three-readings rule suspended, required the two-thirds vote and reading in full. The experienced clerk "read" the ordinance while the audience whispered and members milled about, and then stated solemnly, when interrogated by the chair, that it had been read in full. Thus passed, it was repassed two weeks later, following its veto. At once petitions were circulated by the Democrats for a referendum which was set for the date of the primary election. Meanwhile, the Board of Elections, unperturbed, accepted nominations from each of the thirty-three wards (1921 style) from which members were elected in November after the defeat of the gerrymander ordinance at the polls.

FURTHER REDISTRICTING ATTEMPTS

Since that defeat, redistricting committees were appointed in 1934 and 1935. They never reported. The naming of the committee in 1935 presented an interesting angle. A Republican mayor with a none-too-strong majority in council feared defeat of his budget. He is said to have assured a west-side Democratic councilman that the Republicans would let him carve out a ward to his own liking, and as evidence of it one may point to the nature of the committee appointed. It was divided into two subcommittees, the one on the east side having Republicans in a majority, and that on the west side, one Republican and two Democrats.

In the interval since 1933 minor alterations only have taken place. One ordinance included an annexed area in an adjacent ward. Several other ordinances were introduced, which, had they passed and the process been pursued further, might have meant piecemeal redistricting. One effected a trans-

fer of a few people in a half block from ward 5 to ward 6, corrected an awkward ward line, and thus took into ward 6 (perhaps not incidentally) the residence of its councilman. Others involving larger groups of people, were ruled out by the Law Department which now holds that redivision must be done all at once, and that soon after the completion of a federal census.

To avoid the danger of one's vote tending to unseat himself, members of the council now hope that by the next census, Cleveland will have grown in sufficient numbers to warrant the continuation of the thirty-three wards.

WISCONSIN COUNTIES AS POLITICAL CHESSMEN

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ties were controlled by Stalwarts. More fundamentally, this argument suggests not only that machine politics are inherently a part of the county system, but also that the electorate is not sufficiently election-minded to choose men for office on any sort of merit basis. The "partisanites" point to coalition experience in Milwaukee to substantiate their claim, but forget entirely that even the Supreme Court considered Milwaukee so different from the rest of the state that it was exempted from the application of the uniformity clause.

The fact that the foregoing evidence had never before been compiled indicates that an objective approach to the problem has never been attempted. To this moment reactions to the question of nonpartisan elections in counties have obviously been based on partisan considerations. The administration of county government has been forgotten in the stronger urge to sustain state political machinery. In the face of requests from the county officials themselves, the legislature has refused to take action or to sound out public opinion. Had those charged with the problem sought the evidence, they would have discovered:

1. The Republican party has consistently dominated county elections in Wisconsin.

2. A close correlation exists between the party vote for all five county offices.

3. Not only has the number of Democrats in county office increased disproportionately with the Roosevelt-ian landslide, but

4. In 75 per cent of all cases, the party voted for in county, state, and national elections coincides.

5. A third of the county elections go uncontested.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from Page 242)

Arnold Frye, Hawkins, Delafield & Longfellow, New York City, *Chairman;* Frederick L. Bird, Municipal Service Department, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc.; A. E. Buck, Institute of Public Administration; William P. Capes, New York Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials; Henry P. Chandler, attorney, Chicago; Carl H. Chatters, director, Municipal Finance Officers' Association; J. Hamilton Cheston, vice-president, Philadelphia Savings Fund Society; Henry Cutler, Chicago; Walter R. Darby, State Auditor, New Jersey; E. Fleetwood Dunstan, Bankers Trust Company, New York City; Robert M. Goodrich, director, Providence Bureau of Governmental Research; Mark Graves, president, New York State Tax Commission; Raymond Greer, City Comptroller, Jersey City, New Jersey.

Earl E. Hagerman, director of finance, Dayton, Ohio; Clifford W. Ham, director, American Municipal Association; C. A. Harrell, city manager, Schenectady, New York; Dr. W. Carleton Harris, Philadelphia; Henry Hart, vice-president, First of Michigan Corporation; August Ihlefeld, Jr., executive vice-president, Savings Banks Trust Company, New York City; Morris

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Coöperative Governmental Purchasing in the Irish Free State

Irish industries greatly benefited by nation-wide scheme of governmental purchasing. Savings in costs and improved quality of materials also products of new system.

CHARLTON F. CHUTE
University of North Carolina

AMERICANS generally have been proud of the leadership which, in both public and private life, has furthered the cause of "efficiency and economy" through centralized purchasing. The advantages of centralized governmental purchasing have been restricted, with a few outstanding exceptions, to one specific government. Neither the states nor the federal government have been aggressive in trying to secure for other public bodies the advantages deriving from the combined purchasing power of all governments on one or several levels. The rule in this country is that each government, be it a town, a city, a county, a state, or the federal government, purchases without regard for the buying of the other governments.

No wonder, then, that when some of the cities in the Michigan and Wisconsin Municipal Leagues purchased fire hose coöperatively their action should be hailed as a new and important step in the history of American government.

Coöperative governmental purchasing arrangements in Europe have attracted the attention of American students of local government from time to time, but perhaps the most interesting and significant coöperative arrangement known, namely that in the Irish Free State, has so far escaped notice in this country.

In December 1921 the Irish Free State Department of Local Government and Public Health undertook to introduce a coöperative purchasing system for the local governments in that country. This system, improved and extended, has functioned for the past seventeen years. It may therefore be said to have outgrown the experimental stage, although some aspects of the system are still in process of evolution.

The advantages of such a system had been pointed out in the auditor's reports on the Grangegorman Mental Hospital, and the Dail Eireann Commission of Inquiry into Local Government examined the proposal and recommended it. The objects of the proposed system were: (1) to effect economies through collective purchasing; (2) to insure the satisfactory quality of the material obtained; and (3) to aid Irish industries. The first step in this new undertaking was to secure the requirements of the various public bodies and institutions, classify them, and invite bids.[1]

The first price list of the Department of Local Government and Public Health was issued on April 4, 1922, and contained over seventy commodities and classes of commodities. The list of commodities dealt with was much more comprehensive than had been expected, and competition for their sale was keen. It was discovered that there was great

[1]Data taken from the *Annual Report of the Irish Free State Department of Local Government and Public Health*, 1922-1930, 1935-1936, and from data received from Mr. T. A. Smiddy of that department under date of March 14, 1934, and September 14, 1937.

variety in the qualities used and hence a standardization program became essential.

Conferences to standardize commodities were held with representatives of mental, county, and district hospitals, poor-law unions, industrial schools and reformatories, and county borough and urban councils meeting for this purpose. Representatives of woolen, cotton, and linen manufacturers were invited to give expert advice on technical points. Wide ranges of samples of the various articles under consideration were displayed and efforts were made to standardize on as few types as possible. It is stated that articles of Irish manufacture were chosen in every case possible.

The representatives of the governmental agencies were invited to elect delegates to an advisory committee to deal with any questions which might afterwards arise. Later, samples were forwarded to each public body and institution for checking the commodities delivered and, on commodities not subject to a superficial check, specifications were drawn.

LOWER PRICES SECURED

Again bids were invited on the basis of samples and specifications and a second price list was issued giving the contract price for the following six months and a copy was sent to each public body and institution. Two trade inspectors were appointed to examine the goods coming into institutions and to explain the working of the coöperative purchasing system to officials. Cases of complaint were taken up with suppliers and the questions in dispute adjusted. Reproduced here are a few prices, taken from the departmental reports, indicative of the merits of the new system.

Perhaps the most striking instance of the economy of collective purchasing occurred in the purchase of medicines,

TABLE I

IRISH FREE STATE

Comparison of Local Contract Price and Official Price in Selected Commodities

Article	Local contract price	Local government contract as per specification or trade term contained in official list Price carriage paid
Check for aprons	2/1½ yd.	1/2 yd.
Rice	40/– cwt.	19/– cwt.
Blue serge	17/11 yd.	10/6 yd.
Shell cocoa	24/– cwt.	12/– cwt.
Brown scouring soap	47/6 cwt.	39/6 cwt.
Aluminum soup plates	19/6 doz.	9/6 doz.
Sweeping brushes	102/– doz.	54/– doz.

which had been secured prior to this time at a price ranging from list price up to a discount of 17 per cent from list. Under the coöperative purchasing scheme, medicines were purchased at a discount of 25 per cent from country prices and 28 per cent from prices in the large cities, thus permitting the smallest purchaser to enjoy the favorable terms received by the largest.

It was found that margarine purchased without specifications contained as little as 5 per cent animal fat. Under the new specifications the margarine purchased contained 80 per cent fats of which 50 per cent were animal fats. It is stated that the price charged for this more valuable product compared favorably with that of the relatively worthless one formerly bought.

During 1922 contracts were entered into on behalf of the *Garda Siochana* (the national police force), the Dublin metropolitan police, and the prisons board, with considerable savings in each case. More recently some purchasing has been done for the army.

In 1925, after discussion in the Irish Parliament, there was passed in that body a most unique act entitled, "Local Authorities (Combined Purchasing)

Act, 1925."[2] The subtitle of the act reads: "An act to make provision for the purchase of commodities by local authorities from contractors appointed officially with a view to the obtainment of such commodities by local authorities at the lowest possible price and for materials connected therewith."

So far as is known, this is the only instance in which a central government has endeavored to aid local governments through a permanent coöperative purchasing scheme.

PROVISIONS OF THE ACT

In brief, the act provides as follows: the Minister for Local Government and Public Health of the Irish Free State solicits bids from persons desiring to be "official contractors" under the act. The official contractors are named on the basis of such bids, although no criteria for the selection of the official contractors were set up in the act. The appointment of the official contractors does not constitute or imply any contract between the minister and the contractor but the minister may require the contractor to enter into "any undertaking which the minister considers to be desirable in relation to the quality of the commodity to be supplied by him, in the manner in which such commodity is to be supplied, the charges to be made for delivery, penalties for failure to supply, the conditions of employment in relation to the production or supply of the commodity, or any other similar matter."

Local authorities requiring a commodity are to send a request to the official contractor in the prescribed form and the contractor shall be deemed to have entered into an enforceable contract to supply the commodities so requested at the prescribed price and in accordance with the standard qualities.

In many respects the most interesting part of the act lies in the following provisions which tend to force the local authorities to buy coöperatively.

> Whenever a local authority purchases or enters into a contract for the purchase of any commodity for which an official contractor has been appointed under this act with a person who is not an official contractor for such commodity, an entry shall be made in the minutes of such local authority stating the reasons for such purchase or contract.
>
> Such entry shall be produced at any audit of the accounts of the local authority which includes any payment for such commodity or under such contract.
>
> At any such audit unless the auditor is satisfied that such purchase or contract was not made for any fraudulent or improper purpose or object or for any object other than the *bona fide* discharge by the members of the local authority making or authorizing the making thereof of their duties in the interest of the ratepayers, he shall charge against such members jointly and severally the amount of any loss caused to the local authority by such purchase or contract, whether such loss arises from the price paid for the commodity or from the quality of the commodity so obtained or otherwise howsoever, and in the case of a contract if in his opinion any such loss as aforesaid is likely to result from the continuance of the contract he may declare such contract to be illegal.

The act provides that the minister may make tests and analyses of the commodities supplied to local authorities by official contractors, and may hold conferences of representatives of local authorities to discuss matters connected with the act. For the purpose of advising and assisting the minister in the performance of his duties under the act, there was established an advisory committee to be known as the Local Supplies Advisory Committee, to be made up of five persons as follows: Two persons who are elected members

[2] 1925 Public Statutes of the *Oireachtas* 299.

of the county or county borough councils in the Irish Free State; two persons who are elected members of urban district councils or commissioners of towns in the Irish Free State; and one person who is a representative of commerce in the Irish Free State.

Before making appointments to the committee, the act provides that the minister shall consult with associations of county or county borough councils, urban district councils, town commissioners, or of commerce, as the case may require. The members of the committee are to retain their memberships for the period of their appointment as prescribed by the minister and shall be eligible for reappointment. The committee is to have a secretary nominated by the minister or by its own initiative.

The act contains the following significant provision: "The committee shall consider and advise the minister on all matters which shall be referred to it by the minister, and the committee may also, at its discretion, consider and if it thinks fit, report to the minister on any other matter relating to or affecting the supply of commodities to local authorities under this act."

COSTS DIVIDED

The minister's costs for administering the combined purchasing system were to be allocated to the counties and county boroughs in proportion to the net annual value of the property ratable for poor rate in them. The county or county borough was to raise the amount assessed as above by means of the poor rate and pay the sums collected into the Irish Free State treasury.

The act provides that the minister's inspectors can:

1. Enter public institutions and inspect and make an inventory of the commodities in them;
2. Report to the minister the results of such inspections and stocktakings; and
3. Attend any meeting of the governing board of such institutions and take part in the proceedings, other than voting.

The act provides further that the minister may make regulations on the following subjects:

1. Appointing the procedure to be adopted by local authorities in carrying this act into effect;
2. Determining the standard of quality for any commodity for which the minister has appointed or intends to appoint an "official contractor";
3. Prescribing the conditions of supply for any such commodity;
4. Authorizing the provision by the minister of official samples of any commodity for which he proposes to appoint an "official contractor" and providing for the deposit of such official samples for public inspection;
5. Regulating the procedure and other matters relating or incidental to any testing or ascertaining of the quality or nature of any commodity for which he is authorized by this act to make arrangements;
6. Requiring that any commodity to be supplied shall be manufactured wholly or in part in Saorstat Eireann;
7. Requiring that the wages to be paid and the conditions of employment to be observed by an official contractor for the supply of any commodity to local authorities shall be such as are required in the execution of contracts with a state department.

Finally, the act provided that it should expire three years after its passage, but the act has since been renewed annually under the expiring laws. This annual extension of the act by governments controlled successively by each of the major political parties in the Irish Free State gives some notion of the popularity of the local authorities' combined purchasing idea.

Conferences were held with the representatives of the local governments concerned in January, 1926, and it is re-

ported that the interchange of views resulting from the conferences proved of great practical value.

On February 9, 1926, regulations under the Local Authorities (Combined Purchasing) Act were made dealing with applications for appointment as "official contractors," standards of qualifications for commodities to be supplied, conditions of supply, provision of official samples, and the testing or ascertainment of the nature of the quality of the commodities.

It was discovered that with each successive price list there was an extension of the number of articles contracted for. The number of items reported on the official list and the number of firms bidding, over a period of years, is shown in Table II.

TABLE II

IRISH FREE STATE

Growth of Number of Items on Official List and Number of Firms Making Bids

Date	Number of items	Number of firms Bidding
September 30, 1925	1207	223
March 31, 1926	1185	293
March 31, 1927	1563	321
March 31, 1928	1717	Not reported
March 31, 1929	1724	"
March 31, 1930	1797	"
March 31, 1934	2064	"
March 31, 1935	2253	"
March 31, 1936	2572	"

The official list of commodities for which contractors have been appointed under the combined purchasing act is now a bulky document. In size and content it reminds the specialist of the United States Government's *General Schedule of Supplies*. The Irish Free State's *Official List* for the twelve-month period ending March 31, 1937, is a 217-page document. At the foot of each page of this catalogue appears the legend, in large type, "Support Irish Manufacture," which lends weight to the theory that one of the principal objects of the act was, and is, to encourage Irish industry.

An early annual report of the Department of Local Government and Public Health states that the advantages of the combined purchasing system were widely recognized and that generally local bodies availed themselves of the commodities listed at the standard prices.

In the annual report for 1925-1926 it is stated that the number of inspections carried out was 560, the number of tests made was 219, and in 62 instances it was found that the commodities supplied were not in accordance with the official standards. Of the latter, the greater number of unsatisfactory articles were obtained directly by local authorities from suppliers other than the official contractor.

Later reports contain the following information on tests made. It will be noted that the quality of materials furnished by local contractors improved greatly over the period shown:

TABLE III

IRISH FREE STATE

Samples Taken on Local Contract Purchases and Official Contract Purchases and Relative Deficiencies

	Number of samples taken	Samples found deficient in quality Number	Per cent
1927-1928			
(a) Local contractors' commodities	89	62	69.7
(b) Official contractors' commodities	241	19	7.9
1929-1930			
(a) Local contractors' commodities	39	18	46.1
(b) Official contractors' commodities	273	47	17.2
1935-1936			
(a) Local contractors' commodities	48[a]	14	29.2
(b) Official contractors' commodities	315[a]	52	16.5

[a]These figures do not include 90 samples, on which only incomplete information is given in the report, as follows: 32 road samples reported satisfactory "with few exceptions"; 53 items of which 4 were rejected, 3 official contractors' commodities and 1 a local contractor's commodity; 5 textile samples, origin unknown, of which 3 were rejected.

By guaranteeing a large market it has been possible to develop the home manufacture of certain articles which formerly had been imported. Such articles included bedsteads, wrought iron fenders, fire irons, sleeping vans, Ford and Dodge ambulance bodies, hammered steel road shovels, food and drug bottles, army-gray shirting, watering carts, and tar compounds.

Throughout the history of the system preference has been given, whenever possible, to articles of Irish manufacture. It is stated that during the six months ended March 31, 1930, there were 620 items in the official list for which bids were submitted by manufacturers of the Irish Free State and of these 593, or 33 per cent of all the items on the official list, were accepted. For the year ending March 31, 1936, the number of Saorstat items increased to 1,148 out of a total of 2,572, or 45 per cent. Table IV shows the recent steady growth in the number of Saorstat-produced items:

TABLE IV

IRISH FREE STATE

Growth of Items of Home Manufacture

Year	Saorstat items	Non-Saorstat items	Total items
1932	605	1,285	1,990
1933	724	1,340	2,064
1934	848	1,289	2,137
1935	907	1,346	2,253
1936	1,148	1,424	2,572

With respect to the cost of operating the system Mr. T. A. Smiddy gives the following information:

> From returns received from "official contractors" and local authorities, for the six months ending September 30, 1933, the expenditures of the latter in purchases under this act amounted to £334,413.7.3 of which £165,013.19.8 was for articles of Saorstat manufacture. The cost of administration of the branch of local government dealing with central purchasing during the same period was not more than £2,500, or roughly less than one per cent. The amount saved to the ratepayer during the same period was not less than £45,000.

The 1935-36 report of the department states that, "The total assessment [on the various counties, county boroughs, etc.] for the year 1935-1936 was £4,420, 9s., 2d." Purchases made by the department for the same period amounted to £474,298. Here again the cost of the department to the local governments was less than one per cent. This cost factor compares favorably with those of the best governmental purchasing agencies in the United States.

MANY ADVANTAGES

From the available evidence it would seem that the advantages of the Irish Free State's coöperative purchasing system are as follows:

Lower prices were secured, particularly for the smaller jurisdictions, as a result of the pooling of the purchasing power of all the local governments in the country.

Commodities of superior quality were secured through a state policy of purchasing under written specifications and the inspection and testing of deliveries. Doubtless many of the smaller jurisdictions would have had neither the money nor the trained personnel needed to develop satisfactory specifications and the inspection and testing of deliveries.

If we assume the desirability of encouraging Irish industry, the system has tended to develop such industries by virtually guaranteeing a local market of sufficient importance to interest capital in undertaking the manufacture of certain commodities.

Finally, the coöperative purchasing system has evolved slowly through the constant conference and coöperation of representatives of local governmental

bodies, representatives of industry, and the Free State Minister of Public Health and Local Government. Permanent machinery has been provided to assure local government of a voice in the conduct of the system.

In conclusion, it may be well to point out some of the characteristics of the Irish Free State which have tended to encourage the successful development of the coöperative purchasing system.

In area the Irish Free State is not large, being somewhat smaller in size than the state of South Carolina. Its population was officially estimated in 1935 to be about three millions, making it roughly the equal of the states of Wisconsin or North Carolina. It would seem that coöperative purchasing would have a greater chance to succeed in such a small and compact country than in, for example, a country like Australia, where the population is scattered and communication somewhat difficult.

A second factor encouraging the growth of coöperative governmental purchasing in the Irish Free State is the dominant economic policy. Both of the principal Irish political parties, the Fianna Fail, led by Mr. de Valera, and the Cumann na nGaedheal, led by Mr. Cosgrave, have had in common a program of encouraging Irish industry. We have seen how the coöperative purchasing system fits into this national economic program by tending to assure a domestic market for Irish manufacturers. It is of interest to American observers to note that, by thus assuring a market by governmental action, there tends to grow up a pressure group of Irish manufacturers with an economic stake in the *preservation* of the cooperative governmental purchasing system.

Finally, contemporary Irish political observers note[3] the absence of an intense feeling of devotion to the theory of local self-government in Saorstat Eireann. The absence of such a theory would undoubtedly tend to make easier the introduction of coöperative governmental purchasing. The question of whether coöperative governmental purchasing really violates an enlightened theory of local self-government may well be left open to discussion.

[3] *The Irish Free State, Its Government and Politics,* Nicholas Mansergh, p. 249, Macmillan, 1934.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from Page 253)

B. Lambie, Harvard University; John S. Linen, second vice-president, Chase National Bank, New York City; Henry F. Long, commissioner of corporations and taxation, Massachusetts; Seabury C. Mastick, President, New York State Commission for the Revision of the Tax Laws; Joseph D. McGoldrick, comptroller, New York City; Charles A. Miller, Savings Banks Trust Company, New York City; Frank C. Moore, executive secretary, Association of Towns of the State of New York; Frank H. Morse, Lehman Brothers, New York City.

William Bennett Munro, Pasadena, California; Mabel Newcomer, Vassar College; Major Fred N. Oliver, National Association of Mutual Savings Banks; Carl H. Pforzheimer, Sr., treasurer, National Municipal League; Clarence E. Ridley, executive director, International City Managers' Association; C. E. Rightor, chief statistician, statistics of states and cities, Bureau of the Census; William R. Shands, director, Division of Statutory Research and Drafting, Richmond Virginia; Sanders Shanks, editor, *The Bond Buyer;* John F. Sly, Princeton University; Judge Thomas D. Thacher, chairman, New York City Charter Revision Commission; C. W. Tooke, School of Law, New York University; Morris S. Tremaine, state comptroller, New York State; Lent D. Upson, director, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research; Paul A. Volcker, City Manager, Teaneck, N. J.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

Little Rock, What Now?

Despite recent defeat for "home rule," city manager sentiment continues strong in Arkansas capital.

GEORGE E. PELLETIER
Consultant to Little Rock Citizens City Manager Committee

JUST a week to the day after so-called "home rule," which would have included the writing of a city manager charter, was defeated in Little Rock, Arkansas, February 14th, the city council, which had almost unanimously opposed any change in the antiquated governmental set-up of the Arkansas capital, wreaked its vengeance upon Mayor R. E. Overman, who had been the outstanding leader in the campaign for simplified government.

The council stripped "Overman Park" of its name and voted to call the playground "Fair Park" instead. It summarily fired several appointees of the mayor, including a secretary. Then it adjourned amid scenes of confusion. The spectacle drew from the *Arkansas Democrat*, Little Rock's afternoon newspaper, the following acid comment:

> Monday night's childish spectacle staged by the Little Rock city council was a typical picture of a room of fifth-grade school children angry with their teacher. The statesmen making up the council personnel drew pictures on the blackboard, made faces at the teacher, and were just as naughty as they could be, the scamps!
>
> They presented a concrete example of the high efficiency we recently heard so much about by sponsors of the time-worn aldermanic form of government.

The incident helps to explain the result of the home rule election in which the aldermen, their lieutenants, and the city employees (supposedly under civil service, but given free rein in this case to engage in non-political opposition to city management), marshalled 5,171 votes against writing a new charter to 1,942 in favor, gleaned by an inadequate organization which was too hastily set up to be effective and which had too little time to properly explain the advantages of management.

First glance at the figures would lead to the conclusion that in Little Rock, at least, the city manager movement has been given a definite setback. But this is far from the truth. The result, if it proves anything, demonstrates that you can't get city management overnight and you can't get it without months of grubbing groundwork out of which must grow a real local citizens' organization.

The Little Rock movement had neither the groundwork nor the broad citizens' organization. It was fettered further by the vagaries of a law which, while it made possible the writing of a progressive and adequate charter, also promoted somewhat unjustified suspicion of the charter committee's motives and prevented the waging of a clean-cut campaign on the merits of management versus the inefficiency of the city's present mayor—large council form of government.

The writer was engaged as consultant to the committee sponsoring the campaign, but was called upon, during the course of the electioneering, to take on many other duties—among them the

management of headquarters and the carrying on of extended educational programs in the newspapers, on the radio, and from the public platform. Had there been fuller participation by Little Rock civic leaders in these phases of the campaign, the result might have been considerably different. But many who were sympathetic to management would not "stick their necks out," as the local phrase goes, because of business affiliations, prejudices left over from a recent heated senatorial campaign, or out of consideration of the possibilities of the state campaign to be fought this fall.

WEAKNESS OF HOME RULE LAW

Moreover, from the beginning the campaign was doomed to failure—not on the issue of management, but on the issue of act 311 of the acts of Arkansas of 1931, under which the home rule election had to be held.

Under this law the preliminary election of February 14th was held to determine whether Little Rock should have home rule, so-called (*i.e.,* whether a charter, of which a mandatory provision would be a council of five and a manager, should be written). At the same time the voters were to choose a charter committee of seven men, proposed by the sponsors of the manager movement, to write such a charter.

The law also provided that only the names of the seven charter committee candidates proposed by the manager sponsors (who had filed the petition for the special election and who, under the law, were to pay the election costs) could be printed on the ballot.

In view of the fact that only fifty-four names had been required on the petition to make the calling of the special election mandatory, (*i.e.,* 15 per cent of the vote for mayor at the last city election, which had been only 357 because the Democratic nominees had been unopposed), and although the sponsors actually filed 108 names, or twice the number required by law, the opposition, which included sixteen of the city's eighteen aldermen and two former mayors, immediately raised the cry of "hand-picked" against the committee candidates and re-echoed this refrain to the end of the campaign.

This weakness in the law, which in truth handicaps rather than aids any city management campaign, is one which both proponents and opponents of home rule agreed after the campaign should be remedied by the next session of the legislature.

Further handicapping the manager group was the additional provision in the law that would have given the charter committee, had one been elected, the privilege of "suggesting" five candidates for the first council, or "board of control" as defined in the act, with the further stipulation that only the names of these five suggested candidates be printed on the ballot at the second election, at which the charter might be accepted or rejected and the first board of control elected.

As may readily be seen, this gave the opposition additional opportunity to make whoopee with the "hand-picked" issue and raise the new cry of "undemocratic" with telling effect.

But despite these defects it may be truthfully said in defense of act 311 that it did make possible the writing of a good city manager charter by the charter committee and it did give full opportunity at a later election for all the people to accept or reject such a charter and the suggested nominees.

Further, the suggested charter-writing committee consisted of truly leading citizens of the community, men who in the past had given liberally of their time and money to projects for civic betterment. There is every reason to believe they would have written a

worth while charter. In the few public declarations they made during the campaign as well as in the privacy of committee meetings they showed a sincere desire to perform unselfish service if given the authority to write a charter.

The opposition, on the other hand, was made up largely of run-of-the-mine, small-fry politicians and jobholders interested primarily in safeguarding a system which had kept them in office or in wages and perquisites for many years past and which probably would continue to do so if left undisturbed.

These points were lost, however, to a population which roused easily to the opposition cries of "dictatorship," raised by the jobholders and office-seekers who were backed 100 per cent by the Democratic city committee in a community where political independence is both unpopular and unprofitable and the citizenry in general is apathetic in local political matters. This apathy was demonstrated by the fact that only 7,113 votes were cast in the home rule contest, which the newspapers characterized as a "hot" election in this city of 81,679 residents.

MORE TIME AND WORKERS NEEDED

Nor was there much time to prepare the way for more widespread interest and possibly a more favorable result. Under the law the election had to be called two months from the date of the filing of the petition, which was presented December 14th. Because of the intervening holiday season, little was done about the campaign until the middle of January. By the time it got going in earnest only three weeks remained to election day.

It would have been nothing short of a miracle if a sufficiently widespread educational program could have been made effective in so short a time, or a thoroughgoing organization mobilized for action.

Another practical handicap was the lack of speakers in behalf of home rule. With the exception of the writer and of Mayor Overman, one of the champions of management, we had no "regulars." A few prominent citizens and civic leaders—notably Joshua K. Shephard, former president of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce who had led a manager campaign in 1934; Mrs. George Branner, former president of the Little Rock Women's Club; Mrs. Ed Cornish, a trustee of the Public Library—were induced to make radio talks, as were two or three others. Two of the charter committee candidates also spoke over the air. But that was all.

They could not offset the efforts of hundreds of city employees, including the uniformed police and firemen, all under a supposedly non-political civil service system, who campaigned openly and unashamedly for the opposition under the delusion that a change in the form of government would upset their civil service status which was safeguarded by statutes which no charter could alter.

It became obvious, as the campaign progressed and our workers had opportunity to contact the citizenry, that very little was known by the average voter about city management. In some cases there was honest interest in the subject, but in many other instances the minds of the voters had been so poisoned by misinformation and suspicion that a more extensive educational program would have been needed to disabuse them of foolishly false notions.

Not a few, for instance, were led to believe by the opposition that if they voted for city management never again would they have an opportunty to vote for any of their city officials! Others were told—and believed—that if city management came, every employee

of the city would be thrown out of his or her job!

There was neither time nor reasonable opportunity during the brief few weeks of the campaign to reach these people. Many of them, furthermore, gave evidence of blind loyalty and confidence in the opposing aldermen, some of whom were not above setting old prejudices to work when logic failed.

To the credit of many sincere citizens of Little Rock who visited the headquarters so that they might "know both sides," it should be said that once they were shown the true provisions of the law and the falsity of extravagant conclusions drawn by the opposition, they went their way assured that if home rule won nothing worse would happen than that a charter would be written for submission to the voters at a later election. Many of these voted their convictions on election day and they should be recruited to form the backbone of the next movement for management in Little Rock.

Mayor Overman's long standing antagonism to the public utility companies, fanned to new enthusiasm by the undoubted success with which his administration has taken over a private water company and developed an almost model water system for the city, served to drag the gas and electricity rate issues somewhat needlessly into the campaign. The result was that several political lawyers with utility affiliations openly opposed home rule while privately paying lip service to the principle of management, using the old "it's a good thing, but we're not just ready for it yet" argument.

Both the city's newspapers, the *Arkansas Gazette* (morning), and the *Arkansas Democrat* (evening), did yeoman service in behalf of city management and home rule. Both newspapers had almost daily articles and editorials outlining the advantages of simplified manager government and explaining the issues of the campaign in the light of the law. The writer contributed a thrice-weekly series of articles on city management at work in other cities to the *Gazette* and conducted a daily "Question and Answer" forum on management in the *Democrat*.

Never, perhaps, has a campaign received more publicity of a favorable nature; yet, equally, never was a campaign waged in the field with a smaller organization.

There were no citizens' groups to draw from for workers because no groundwork had been laid. The few workers at headquarters were paid and were efficient and devoted, but there were too few in the field. The men's organization had a bare half-dozen and the women's group probably fifteen at the peak during the final week. In addition there were occasional volunteers who offered their services on a part-time basis and others who did canvassing or who loaned their cars. But there was neither time nor opportunity to weld together the precinct and block organization which would have been needed to offset the hundreds of workers on the other side, attracted to it by personal friendship for the candidates in the Democratic primary, which the city committee purposely set for the same day as the home rule election, or in return for favors granted in the past by officials now fighting for their jobs.

As noted already, without the sympathetic assistance of the press, due largely to the coöperation of Mr. H. N. Heiskell, editor of the *Gazette*, and Mr. W. T. Sitlington, managing editor of the *Democrat*, even the result obtained would have been impossible. The newspapers undoubtedly reached many people whom neither workers nor speakers could contact directly.

(Continued on Page 283)

Administration as a Science

A review of eleven essays prepared by management experts both in this country and abroad.

MARSHALL E. DIMOCK
University of Chicago

FRESH impetus has been given to the conversion of the management art into a scientific subject. A short time after the appearance of W. F. Willoughby's arresting title, "The Science of Administration" (in *Essays in Political Science*, edited by Mathews and Hart, 1937), Luther Gulick, with L. Urwick as co-editor, has made available eleven papers by writers at home and abroad and has released them in an attractively bound volume entitled *Papers on the Science of Administration.*[1]

There is a rebirth of faith in the possibility of developing a systematic and scientific body of knowledge known as public administration. The fluctuation of conviction and doubt over the last ten years has been a striking one. Only four years ago, outstanding students of public administration were confessing that they were disillusioned in their belief that ultimately administration would become a science. "The germ of administration has not been isolated," some of them said, "and it seems doubtful whether it ever will be." Apparently it has since been discovered that the analogy was an improper one.

This change of heart seems to be at least partially accounted for by the increasing utilization of the abundant material on fundamental administrative theory lying outside the field of public administration proper. Social scientists, to their profit, are more and more employing the comparative method.

In the series of eleven papers, Luther Gulick writes the first and the last, and they are easily the newest and most interesting. From the standpoint of arrangement it is in some ways unfortunate that his discussion of "Science, Values, and Public Administration" did not come at the beginning of the volume, in order to make explicit some of the positions assumed in the preceding analyses, particularly the ones by the editors. Gulick's contention is that administration, in order to become a science, must be definitively delimited in scope and must, if possible, be systematized without any relation whatever to values, with the single exception of efficiency. " 'Should,' " he says, "is a word political scientists should not use in scientific discussions." He points out that the physical sciences, which now enjoy great prestige because of their systematization and certainty, were a long time in acquiring their present orderly form. He expresses confidence that in time administration may be correspondingly systematized and categorized in the form of rules and principles. Having expressed this conviction, he proceeds to deal with the relation

[1] *Papers on the Science of Administration.* By Luther Gulick, L. Urwick, James D. Mooney, Henri Fayol, Henry S. Dennison, L. J. Henderson, T. N. Whitehead, Elton Mayo, Mary P. Follett, John Lee, V. A. Graicunas. Edited by Luther Gulick and L. Urwick. New York, Institute of Public Administration, 1937. vii, 195 pp. $3.00.

between science and values. He stresses the central position occupied by efficiency, which is the achievement of stated objectives with the least expenditure of energy and materials. In both his essays, however, he emphasizes the qualifying influence of democratic desires and institutions, which he says may cause deviations from administrative principles but do not change the principles themselves. There is nothing particularly new about Gulick's discussion of scientific method; however, as related to the subject matter of public administration, it both presents a challenge and points the way.

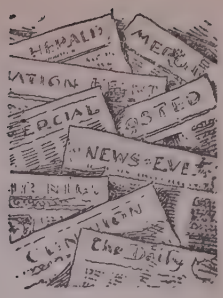
The editors make it clear that there were several reasons for bringing the discussions together, despite the fact that most of them had been published elsewhere. One important reason is that some of them are not readily available; for example, Urwick's "Organization as a Technical Problem," a valuable treatise on the problem of coördination, has heretofore been out of print. Then, too, so much has been written on administration in business, government, education, military establishments, etc., that the more systematic and penetrating discussions are likely to be hidden from view so far as the general reader is concerned. The editors also express the conviction that there is already a high degree of coincidence between the fundamental positions taken by authorities respectively on governmental and business administration.

Most of the papers deal with principles of organization and do not attempt to cover other component parts of the total field of administration. Apt is James Mooney's observation to the effect that "people think of organization as in some way synonymous with administration or management." In view of the purposes which the editors had in mind, this restriction of focus need not be taken as a weakness. Because of the nature of the subject matter, attempts to discover principles in the field of organization are numerous and more successful than is the case in other subdivisions of administration. It seems clear to the reviewer that this will continue to be the case.

The selection of these papers from the scores available will naturally cause disagreement among the experts, because different selectors would almost surely have different estimates of the relative value of possible selections. This reviewer considers the symposium about as good a compilation of analyses as could have been attained. The task confronting the editors was made more difficult because of the fact that most of the papers were not pointed toward the objectives of this particular collection. Thus, for example, Mary Follett has contributed considerably more to the thinking of public administration than is suggested by her short discussion entitled "The Process of Control." The same observation is true of the consolidated contribution of L. J. Henderson, T. N. Whitehead, and Elton Mayo, whose writings supplied a short paper entitled "The Effects of Social Environment," dealing with two Western Electric experiments in morale which have been extensively discussed in Whitehead's book and elsewhere. Anything of John Lee's is almost sure to be significant; but there are passages in his writings which in the reviewer's opinion surpass those contained in his present paper on "The Pros and Cons of Functionalization." L. Urwick's second discussion deals primarily with the writings of Henri Fayol and with Mooney and Reilley's *Onward Industry,* but he does give the reader significant annotations and expresses anew his confidence

(Continued on Page 288)

Recent News Reviewed



NOTES AND EVENTS
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Los Angeles "Disaster Plan" Meets Test.—The "disaster preparedness" organization of Los Angeles, California, proved its worth during the recent floods, according to the city's efficiency engineer, Burton L. Hunter, who describes its operation in *Public Management*. The Disaster Emergency Council was not called upon to function so completely as during the 1933 earthquake. Coördination among the municipal, public utility, Red Cross, and American Legion personnel, however, put man power, equipment, and necessities such as food and blankets "on call" for a far greater emergency than occurred.

Disaster planning for the city and county of Los Angeles originated in 1926. It covers a metropolitan area with three million inhabitants. Ninety-six committees are affiliated in the Disaster Emergency Council, their duties charted specifically for immediate mobilization in any crisis. Berkeley, San Diego, San Francisco, Long Beach, and Pasadena are other California cities with similar plans. Louisville, Kentucky; Memphis, Tennessee; and Binghamton, New York, have drawn up comparable organizations.

New York Home Rule Law for Cities Expanded.—Governor Lehman of New York has signed the bill introduced by State Senator Philip M. Kleinfeld and Assemblyman Ralph Schwartz of Kings County (Brooklyn) amending the state's home rule law for cities so as to permit any city, and not merely those having the commission form of government, to adopt a local law creating a charter revision commission by petition and referendum. The commission in each case is to be named in the petition or elected or appointed as specified in the petition.

The amendment also requires the separate submission to the electors of any provision of a charter commission proposal applying proportional representation to the election of any officials of a city.

Had the Kleinfeld amendment been passed previous to the 1937 legislative session in New York State, it would have been deemed of great importance. Since that session, however, passed an act giving the voters of any city the power to initiate charter changes,[1] this new amendment to the home rule law of 1923 merely provides an additional orderly and useful procedure for working out an extensive charter revision which could be accomplished under machinery already on the statute books.

Council-Manager Plan Developments.—Lexington, Virginia, (3,752 population) on April 7th adopted the council-manager plan by ordinance.

The legislature of Quebec, on April 8th, gave its approval to the formation of the position of manager for the city of Verdun (25,011).

Governor Lehman of New York has signed a bill permitting certain towns in Westchester County to adopt the manager plan after referendum. The bill is so worded that it applies at present only to the town of Harrison.

Readfield and Freeport, Maine, are studying the manager plan. Bridgton and Fort Kent, Maine, have recently rejected manager charters.

[1]See National Municipal Review for June 1937, p. 310.

East Lansing, Michigan, (4,389) will vote on a council-manager charter on June 15th.

As a sequel to the defeat of the council-manager plan on February 12th in Des Moines, Iowa, C. A. Crosser, secretary of the Bureau of Municipal Research in that city, writes: "With the sudden and unexpected 'crack' of a short story climax, the incumbent political machine, including two councilmen who opposed the manager plan, was decisively defeated at the polls on March 28th. Even leaders of the opposition concede that the city manager campaign as well as the block voting by the city manager adherents contributed to this end. The result is that the Des Moines city council now contains four and probably five members who are free from trammels of the former political machine."

*

Sound Basis Needed for Municipal Benefit Systems.—A recent survey by the International City Managers' Association shows that of 819 cities having more than 10,000 population, two-thirds have retirement systems for some portion of their employees and only one-third set up their programs on an actuarial reserve basis. Excluding sixty New York cities which participate in a sound state retirement system, the number of systems on an actuarial basis totals only one-fourth. It was stated that in many cases the systems are financially bankrupt because adequate funds have not been accumulated to pay for the benefits promised.

The survey also indicated that one-third of the systems studied had fewer than fifty participants, and more than half fewer than one hundred, whereas "competent actuaries estimate that death and disability payments cannot be safely supported on less than one hundred members."

A report of the survey will appear in the *1938 Municipal Year Book*.

*

Constitutional Home Rule for New York Cities.—More rigorous restrictions against interference in local problems by the state legislature are embodied in a proposal made by Harold Riegelman, chairman of the committee on cities of the New York State constitutional convention now holding sessions. The proposal would prohibit the legislature from passing any special act relating to the "property, affairs, and government" (which it defines) of any city without a message from the mayor certifying that an emergency exists, or from the governor declaring an emergency which the local law-making body has failed to rectify after he has requested it to do so. Such special act would require a two-thirds vote if accompanied by a mayor's message, and a three-fourths vote if the governor, rather than the mayor, declares the emergency. The proposal also would empower a city legislature to change or repeal an act of the state legislature, unless the latter specifically prohibits such action.

*

Louisville Makes Municipal Movie.—According to the Municipal Finance Officers' Association, the city of Louisville, Kentucky, has completed a fourteen-hundred-foot, sixteen-millimeter movie entitled "Your City Government" and portraying municipal activities. The picture took approximately nine months to complete, and was made by a commercial photographer; its cost, with the projector and portable screen, was only $621.60. The film is reported to have had an unusually good reception and to be booked far up into June.

*

Municipal Financing for Low-rent Housing.—Cities seeking funds to finance their portion of the national low-rent housing program are taking a variety of courses. Under the housing act, cities are to contribute 10 per cent of the capital cost and a minimum of 20 per cent of the annual subsidy of any housing project, the federal government supplying the rest.

Five cities—Austin, Texas; Charleston, South Carolina; New Orleans, Louisiana; Syracuse, New York; and Youngstown, Ohio—recently allotted funds in connection with the new locally-managed housing program, offer examples of approved local financing. According to the National Association of Housing Officials, the city government guaranteed the local capital in each of the five. Two of the cities contributed substantial amounts of land toward the local 10 per cent of capital cost. In one city the authority's bonds are to be distributed by a bond house; in another, a local bank has agreed to take the entire block of bonds not sold to the federal government. All local annual contributions will be in the form of tax exemption, subject to a relatively

small service charge. The subsidies average 56 per cent of the federal annual contributions, instead of the 20 per cent minimum required by the act.

While cities in many states need more legal freedom for financing low-rent housing projects, 1938 legislatures have provided for fund-raising in the following ways:

Ohio made local authority bonds legal investments for public and fiduciary funds, state teachers' retirement funds included. New York legalized investment of state, municipal, insurance company, and bank funds in low-rent projects. Another new law, an innovation, permits New York City to levy an occupancy tax of $1 to $6 per year on premises used for business or professional purposes, proceeds of which will support local low-rent housing. New York voters next fall will pass on three constitutional amendments authorizing the state to set up a $200,000,000 revolving fund for housing loans; to permit the pledging of the state's credit for housing; and to exempt city loans for housing purposes from the constitutional debt limit.

With a decision of the Alabama Supreme Court last month, the number of states having housing laws that lack tax exemption provision was reduced to three: Illinois, Massachusetts, and Montana.

*

Merit System Victories and Hopes.— Following court approval of the Louisville, Kentucky, merit system law, passed in 1937 but held up by legal attacks on its constitutionality, Louisville is now organizing a civil service program covering employees of the health and welfare departments, according to the *Civil Service Assembly News Letter.* A personnel commission for the two departments has named a full-time personnel director.

Enabling acts recently adopted by the Kentucky legislature permit the thirteen second- and third-class cities in Kentucky to create local civil service commissions and boards of trustees for the employees' pension funds. Seven of these cities already have partial or full civil service coverage.

According to the Civil Service Assembly, pending legislation in three states indicates the possibility of substantial gains for the merit system during 1938, despite the fact that few legislatures hold regular sessions this year. The Rhode Island legislature has been considering civil service provisions for state employees, North Dakota votes on an initiative measure on June 29th, and voters in the state of Washington will pass on an initiated civil service proposal next autumn.

A quiet attempt to defeat the development of the merit system in Arkansas, by transferring the funds of the state personnel division to a tuberculosis sanitarium building fund, was overcome by unanimous vote of the state senate, when wide-spread public opinion was aroused after the plan had slipped through the lower house.

*

Proposals to Modernize Michigan's Financial Administration.— Recommendations for revision of the financial administration of the state of Michigan were submitted on April 15th to Governor Frank Murphy by the Public Administration Service which had conducted a survey at the governor's request. Designed to provide a centralized check on expenditures and an accurate, detailed budget, the report recommends a unified department of finance, which would take over functions now administered by the state administrative board and the budget director.

The proposed revisions also include provisions for a coördinated accounting system for all state departments. The number of state funds would be reduced from 230 to 78, and the number of ledger accounts from 2,400 to fewer than 600.

Other recommendations suggested in the study include:

> Enlargement of the budget department; employment of a technical staff to obtain first-hand knowledge of fiscal plans and needs of departments in order to obtain accurate, controlled estimates; the budget director to have the authority for allotting and transferring state funds.
>
> A single state appropriation act for all departments on the basis of detailed budget estimates.
>
> Elimination of separate bank accounts for state departments; prompt remittance of funds collected by departments to the state treasurer.
>
> Standard financial stationery and records for all departments.

Governor Murphy has announced plans for effecting the revisions which can be done without new legislation at the beginning of the 1938-39 fiscal year.

Training for Police Instructors in Michigan and Colorado.—Michigan police officials took the first step in the development of an extensive police training program in that state, according to the International Association of Chiefs of Police, when some twenty state and local commanding officers met in Ann Arbor recently in a five-day conference to establish such a program under the sponsorship of the state board for vocational education. The next step will be the training of instructors; the instructional costs for these, and three-fourths of their expenses while being trained, will be met by the board. Colorado's first annual law enforcement officers' training school for instructors was held in Denver in February, with thirty-three officers in attendance who were awarded certificates after two weeks of training. They are proceeding to organize zone training schools for law enforcement officers in their districts.

*

First of Forty-Three State Primaries Held.—On April 12th the voters of Illinois participated in unusual number in the first of forty-three state primaries, scheduled for the spring and summer of 1938, which will select candidates for representatives to Congress, nominate senators in thirty-four states, and nominate governors in thirty-three states.

The states differ widely in the use of the primary for nominations, according to the Council of State Governments. Voters in Michigan in September will select candidates for governor and lieutenant governor, while other officials, such as the secretary of state, treasurer, and attorney-general, are nominated by convention. New Yorkers in that month will choose only candidates for legislative seats in the primary; other officeholders, including the governor, are nominated by party conventions. Indiana, which votes in May, restricts the primary to nomination of representatives in Congress, state legislators, and local officers. Arizona and Washington in September will nominate supreme and superior court judges in addition to other officers in the state primaries; Nevada, all judicial officials.

States with the strictly "open primary" include Wisconsin, Montana, Minnesota, and Washington, the last named being unique in putting up a "blanket ballot" on which not even the candidate's political affiliation is shown. Minnesota provides a nonpartisan primary for the legislative nominations. Nebraska's unicameral legislators are nominated in the same way.

This year marks the thirty-fifth anniversary of the first adoption of the mandatory, complete state primary, in Wisconsin.

*

Michigan Welfare Reorganization Held Up Pending Referendum.—Signatures of a sufficient number of voters have been obtained in Michigan to require a referendum vote at the November election on the question whether act 257 of the 1937 laws, creating a State Department of Public Assistance, shall be sustained or overthrown. This is one of seven acts, numbered 257 to 263 inclusive, which were passed by the legislature in 1937 and approved by the governor, providing for the reorganization of certain state and local public welfare services and agencies. The attorney-general has ruled that these acts should be construed together and that the filing of the referendum petition suspends the operation of all of them. Certain portions had already been put into effect, including relief appropriations and certain amendments to the old-age assistance act.

The arguments for and against these welfare reorganization acts, according to a memorandum presented to the Council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit by Arthur Dunham of the Institute of Public and Social Administration, University of Michigan, have centered chiefly on the provisions for the abolition of certain local public welfare agencies and the establishment of county departments of public welfare.

*

Status of Interstate Compacts Strengthened.—A decision of the United States Supreme Court on April 25th, to the effect that an interstate compact between Colorado and New Mexico for apportioning the water of the La Plata River had priority over previous Colorado court decrees, is expected to reinforce the position of such compacts and possibly further their use as a means of dealing with regional problems.

*

Federal Reorganization Bill Defeated.—After an amazing campaign of distortion and hypocrisy, as well as expressions of sincere

and rational differences of opinion, the paradoxically stigmatized "dictatorship" bill to facilitate reorganization and simplification of the national executive department, and to increase its efficiency as an arm of democratic government, was defeated in the House of Representatives by a narrow margin last month.

*

National Governmental Organizations Move to New Headquarters.—The sixteen national organizations specializing in improvement in governmental technique in various fields, with recent headquarters at 850 East 58th Street, Chicago, Illinois, late in April occupied their new joint headquarters, a handsome structure just completed at 1313 East 60th Street, near the University of Chicago. These organizations include: American Municipal Association, American Public Welfare Association, American Public Works Association, American Society of Planning Officials, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, Council of State Governments, Federation of Tax Administrators, Governmental Research Association, International Association of Chiefs of Police, International City Managers' Association, Municipal Finance Officers' Association, National Association of Assessing Officers, National Association of Housing Officials, National Association of State Auditors, Comptrollers and Treasurers, Public Administration Clearing House, Public Administration Service.

*

Southern California's Tenth Annual Institute of Government.—The University of Southern California will hold its annual Institute of Government during the week of June 13th on the campus at Los Angeles. The program promises to be the most varied and inclusive in the ten years of the institute's history. It will include two general assemblies each day and over thirty specialized sections. The morning assembly topic will be "Principles of Government"; that in the afternoon will be "Man Power in Government."

*

Housing Surveys Authorized by WPA.—With approval of housing surveys as projects of the Works Progress Administration, cities have gained a valuable aid in their preparation for slum clearance and low-rent housing programs, according to the National Association of Housing Officials. Five conditions must be met in order to secure WPA aid with exemption to the "no-canvass" rule applying to most WPA projects. To qualify, a housing survey must be of undoubted public usefulness, must be very specific in form, must be competently supervised, must be supported by local public opinion, and should be endorsed by other official agencies which might make use of the results such as the public works, building, health, and fire departments and the local planning agency.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT

Edited by Paul W. Wager

New County Legislation in Kentucky.—The extraordinary session of the general assembly, which adjourned April 9th, enacted two laws which materially affect county government. The first was an act making provision for an orderly handling of the county debt problem to be administered with the aid of a local finance officer, subject, in respect of broad matters of policy, to the approval of an ex officio board composed of the principal state officials. This bill also provided for several material improvements in the uniform budget and accounting provisions of the law. The philosophy underlying the legislation contemplated maintenance of local autonomy, but making available adequate technical assistance through the State Department of Revenue in conjunction with which the budgets are now handled, and the local finance officer will in general function. This measure appropriates a revolving fund of half a million dollars for the purpose of facilitating re-financing, but with a view to spending outright none of the funds appropriated.

Possibly an equally important measure was one providing for local tax collection. The statutes in Kentucky governing the administration of local tax collections were rather completely butchered by amendments passed during the depression. The consequence was considerable confusion resulting in almost complete paralysis of the collection enforcement machinery in certain particular respects. This new act undertakes to unify the old provisions rather than to enact an entirely new tax collection statute. It is not as thorough-

going, therefore, in its application as could have been desired, but it does reconcile the inconsistent provisions of the old acts and provide in numerous respects for improved procedure. For example, the period of redemption is reduced from five years to three years; and a consistent plan for handling land sales, so that some of them may be legal and so that the commonwealth is adequately protected in the event they are irregular, has been set up to replace statutory provisions which did neither of these things.

A third act which will have certain local government implications is one governing tax administration procedure in general, but having as its primary purpose unification of the procedures under which the Department of Revenue operates. It is believed that this measure will render possible considerable simplification in the record-keeping incident to tax administration, preparation of tax bills, and collection of taxes. This matter, however, has not yet been thoroughly canvassed, and no change will be effected in these matters during the next fiscal year beginning July 1, 1938.

James W. Martin
Commissioner of Revenue, Kentucky

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Recent Legislation in Virginia.—In recent session the General Assembly passed several acts general in form but of local application. For instance, Henrico County is singled out for special treatment by an act which provides that no county of "four or more magisterial districts adjoining a city of 180,000 population shall . . ."; Chesterfield County receives special attention by a similarly worded act; and Newport News' territorial aspiration is effectively thwarted by an act which provides that no portion of a county of sixty square miles shall be annexed to any city unless the whole county is annexed. The Virginia constitution and a state supreme court decision are responsible for such beating around the bush. The constitution provides twenty cases in which special and local acts shall not be enacted, that in these cases only general acts shall apply, and any subsequent amendment to a general law of this kind shall not have the effect of enacting a local or special act. In *Smith v. Board of Supervisors of Scott County*, 165 S. E. 526 (1932), the Supreme Court of Appeals enforced this provision and held invalid an act that amended a general law in a way that had the effect of a special or local law. In other words, a general statute can only be amended in a general way.

One of those local acts, just mentioned, authorizes the Chesterfield County Board of Supervisors to employ an executive secretary who will prepare the budget, audit all claims against the county, purchase supplies, do the clerical work, and keep the county board well posted on county affairs. From this it is seen that the executive secretary will be similar to the county executive provided in the optional forms of county government law. In effect Chesterfield gets a new form of county government, and that too without a popular vote. Subsequent to this, the Chesterfield Board of Supervisors adopted a resolution that "when and if an executive secretary be appointed he should be named by the majority of the supervisors, that his maximum salary should be three thousand dollars, and that he should be a Chesterfield County man." Action on the secretary, however, is not likely until after the election that has been called for May 12th when the people will vote on two questions: first, whether the county government form should be changed, and second, if the change is to be made whether the county manager or county executive form should be adopted. Things are again shaping in Chesterfield for a repetition of the political controversy that got so warm and bitter last fall. One thing, however, should be mentioned, the General Assembly (1938) provided a respite of three years between political battles of this kind.

Another local act passed by the General Assembly denies the voters of Henrico County the privilege of electing their supervisors from the county at large. The present scheme in Henrico of having one member from each district on a board elected from the county at large has not been satisfactory to the organization Democrats. They claimed that it is not democratic because the scheme denies a district the privilege of choosing its representatives on the county board. On the other hand the action of the General Assembly is a bit arbitrary, and is "a definite negation of democracy."

All of these local acts were bad. The General Assembly also by its inaction dealt

a blow to the progress of reform in Virginia county government. In a mood of economy, but every one knows better than that, the legislature, for the second time, dropped the small item for carrying on the work of the County Government Commission. This commission which has done worthy service for the commonwealth is now disbanding. Professor Spicer, its chairman, resigned several weeks ago. The recent session of the General Assembly leaves little doubt, as Dr. Fox pointed out in an address before the Virginia Social Service Association last year, that the Democratic organization must shoulder much of the responsibility for the slow progress of structural reform in Virginia county government. One may wonder why the party sanctioned the initial steps taken in 1932 when the County Government Commission was created.

JAMES E. PATE
College of William and Mary

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City-County Reorganization in Cleveland and Cuyahoga County Proposed.—City-county reorganization is still a live issue in Cleveland and Cuyahoga County. The City-County Reorganization Committee of the Cleveland Citizens League, an unofficial group, has been meeting weekly during the past winter to discuss the difficult political and legal problems involved, according to the April 14th issue of *Greater Cleveland*, organ of the Citizens League. The committee is composed of representatives from all groups and sections in the county and includes lawyers, business men, experienced public officials, and representatives of labor and civic organizations.

After extended study the committee has recommended that a home rule charter for the "city and county" of Cleveland be drafted, to provide: (1) for the manager plan of government with a council of fifteen elected from the county at large by proportional representation for a two-year term, eight to be elected in one year, and seven the next; (2) for the unification of the administration of all existing municipalities and townships (school districts not included) with the county as one central government; (3) the people of any area containing at least two thousand population and two square miles of area may by petition and majority vote within the area establish itself as a borough and exercise the local powers and functions given under the charter to such units. The plan of organization for such boroughs calls for an unpaid borough board of seven members, elected at large by proportional representation, with authority to appoint a superintendent to administer borough functions under the supervision of the board in the same manner as the county manager would direct the county administration under the supervision of the council.

Recommendations have also been made concerning the functions which shall be considered as belonging to the city-county government and those which shall belong to the local units of government. Since the proposed new charter will contain provision for "municipal functions,"[1] it will be necessary to obtain a four-way majority for its adoption, i.e., a majority of the votes cast in the county, a majority in the largest city (Cleveland), a majority in the county outside the largest city, and a majority within each of a majority of all the municipalities and townships of which there are sixty.

All recommendations of the committee are tentative and unofficial. The actual drafting of an official document will require the election of a charter commission by a majority vote at a regular election.

■

County Employees Unionize in Wisconsin.—The upsurge of unionization in private industry has its counterpart in public employment. Out of a total membership of approximately 6,000 in Wisconsin, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, claims the following membership among county employees: Milwaukee approximately 1,000, Kenosha 95, Racine 93, and Ozaukee, including the city of Port Washington, 33. Other locals are found in Rock, Monroe, and Dane Counties. Most of these figures represent highway and county institution employees.

County labor has not escaped dualism. The nine-months-old State, County, and Municipal Workers of America, affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization, has a local

[1]Decision of Ohio Supreme Court in the case of *State ex rel. Howland vs. Krause*, 130 O. S. 455. See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for March 1936, p. 189.

of 82 highway workers in LaCrosse County and another of undetermined strength in Milwaukee County. The Madison local is expected to begin organization in Dane County soon. Where there is no merit system, this CIO union hopes to achieve similar standards through formal contracts or agreements.[1]

"Company unions" have also appeared in a few instances. The application of the Rock County Highway Employees Union for listing with the state labor board as an independent organization was denied because the union was dominated by the supervisory officials. Because of such experiences as this and one instance in which city employees unionized on Saturday were dismissed by "coincidence" on the following Monday, an attempt will be made to amend the state labor relations law so as to extend the power of the state labor board to public employees.

ELDON L. JOHNSON
University of Wisconsin

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Virginia Provides for County Zoning.—The Virginia General Assembly has enacted a law which enables the boards of supervisors of the counties of the state to adopt and enforce zoning regulations, according to a recent news letter of the American Society of Planning Officials. The powers granted in the act may be exercised by a county only after the appointment of a county planning commission authorized by an act of 1936, this commission being designated to serve as a zoning commission. The establishment, composition, and specific powers of the board of appeals is discretionary. Further authority is given to appoint a zoning enforcing officer.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

Edited by Wade S. Smith

The Lucas County (Toledo) Reappraisal.—In preparing to make the 1937 sexennial assessment for Lucas County (Toledo, Ohio) the county auditor's office made a study based on sales, rents, leases, and income which showed the general level of real estate assessment in Lucas County to be around 78 per cent. It showed great disparity in assessment ratios, the range being from 3 per cent of true value to 1030 per cent. The law provides true value assessment, there is no problem of state levies on the local duplicate and, since sales tax distributions for the local government fund in which city, county, township, and village participate are based on the tax duplicate, it seemed clearly indicated that the assessment level should be brought to true value and not merely equalized at the old level.

The law of Ohio makes the county auditor the assessor of real property and provides for its assessment at "true value in money" in every sixth year following 1925. True value in money has been interpreted by our courts to be the value arrived at in that most hypothetical of suppositious situations where "a willing buyer not compelled to buy, buys from a willing seller not compelled to sell." This apparently means in a mass appraisal that so far as improvements are concerned reproduction cost less depreciation and obsolescence shall be the true value in money, unless the income factor or a recent sale of a willing buyer—willing seller type indicates a lower value.

In making preparation for this appraisal J. L. Jacobs of Chicago was retained as chief consultant on assessment techniques and special supervisor of operations. He was aided by H. O. Walther on land valuation and David H. Kinnett on building valuations. The aid of the Works Progress Administration was enlisted through local Works Progress Administration authorities and after consultation with the coördinating committee of the Works Progress Administration in Washington for the furnishing of clerical help, draftsmen, and field work helpers. An appropriation of $60,000 was secured from the county commissioners, which appropriation was enlarged to $225,000 later. The original Works Progress Administration project with supplements amounted to about $240,000 by completion of the appraisal proper.

Local engineers were hired to help in building up building-cost figures and depreciation tables on the basis of Toledo costs. Local cost men were retained to furnish Toledo costs, local real estate men to give opinions on land values in the districts, and members of the Real Estate Board to fix downtown land values. Meetings of farmers were called in the rural areas to pick representative land-

[1] All information is from the national offices and local representatives of the two unions named.

owning farmers and these men, together with a man especially picked by the auditor, were appointed deputy auditors to appraise farm lands. Local men were hired to act as field captains of crews of three, made up of themselves and two WPA men, to measure all the buildings in the county. The captain was in charge and did the entire recording for the property record card while the WPA men measured the building outside. Essentially the same treatment with variation required for differences in size and type of property was applied to larger commercial and industrial properties.

After this data had been secured and turned in, a selected group of men standing highest in the preliminary work classified the buildings in one of the fifty-two classes. When this preliminary work on both buildings and land had been completed, it was simply a matter of figuring front foot values with allowance for corner and alley influence in the case of land and computing the cubical contents of the building; then multiplying by the base price for the class and depreciating for the number of years of age and further for any specific condition of obsolescence.

According to the figures Lucas County shows an increase of approximately 25 per cent over the year 1936 for both land and buildings. In comparison with the year 1931 the 1937 tax shows an increase of approximately 2 per cent and in comparison with the year 1929 the 1937 tax shows a decrease of 12 per cent. Comparing the land valuations of 1937 with 1936 we find a 15 per cent increase but in comparison with 1931 we find a decrease of 15 per cent and with 1929 a decrease amounting to 29 per cent. Comparing the building valuation of 1937 with 1936 we find an increase of approximately 30 per cent, and comparison with 1931 shows an increase of 12 per cent and 1929 a decrease of 1 per cent. A comparison of the 1936 total tax with that for 1937 shows an increase in farm and village land of 6 per cent, city land 26 per cent, farm and village buildings 12 per cent, city buildings 56 per cent.

It was decided to study and make a sample check of the valuation of certain tangible personal property, i.e., machinery and equipment of industrial concerns, which under Ohio law is valued at 50 per cent of its book value. The law provides that the book value when not at true value may be examined and physically valued at its true value. The State Tax Commission accordingly designated the auditor of Lucas County as its agent to make this investigation. The investigation showed that the book value method of valuing this tangible personal property has a very low ratio of correspondence to actual physical value as determined by the work so far. On the basis of appraisals made it is indicated that true value would be increased more than 300 per cent above present declared values. The State Tax Commission has accordingly cited one large oil refinery company to show cause why its valuation of tangible personal property should not be increased from $40,000 roughly to over $800,000. This is by no means the worst case of low return in proportion to actual value.

Valuations for the city were announced on New Year's Day and for the townships and villages on January 28, 1938.

The auditor's office is now receiving complaints on these valuations and proceeding by informal hearings to make corrections and adjustments where indicated. The board of revision, consisting of the auditor, treasurer, and chairman of the Board of County Commissioners will start its work on March 1st and continue receiving complaints till the end of the first tax collection. Hearings on complaints filed before that time may be held any time up to ninety days after complaints have been lodged and this would indicate that hearings will continue until about July 15th.

The recession has been responsible, in a large measure, for a considerable volume of complaints on the valuation level, although the Real Estate Board, acting for larger interests which prefer to remain in the background, has probably excited more complaints than the recession has justified. The method of attack, however, has been technical and the emphasis has been on scattered cases and no attack has been sustained so far as the method or the purposes behind it are concerned. The increase in valuation, including utility properties which are assessed by the Tax Commission, new buildings and special parcels, including partially exempt properties, has been about 16 per cent or over $90,000,000. This represents a recovery of about half the tax valuation lost since 1929. The tax rate

in consequence has gone down till it is at $19.00 per thousand, the lowest of any large city in Ohio and one of the very lowest in the country, if not actually the lowest among cities of its class.

HALE T. SHENEFIELD
Auditor, Lucas County, Ohio

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Municipal Bankruptcy Act Upheld.—The United States Supreme Court on April 25th, in its decision of a case involving the Lindsay-Strathmore irrigation district in California, upheld the municipal bankruptcy act of 1937, which was passed by Congress in revised form after the original act of 1934 had been held unconstitutional.

The distinguishing fact that makes the 1937 act constitutional, according to the opinion, is that state consent is now required to make possible the composition by bankruptcy proceedings of the debts of political subdivisions.

It is estimated that two thousand cities, towns, and school districts—mostly small or sparsely settled—plus an additional one thousand or so special irrigation and reclamation districts had defaulted on their securities.

The court's decision makes bankruptcy proceedings available as a means of relief to the most badly distressed municipalities and to consenting creditors; and this possibility may also be expected to aid in arranging voluntary settlements.

*

Law to Tax Governmental Bond Income Proposed.—Although the 1938 revenue act has now been approved in conference committee without change in the long standing tax exemption of interest from federal, state, and municipal securities, President Roosevelt in a recent message to Congress urged enactment of legislation to permit such taxation both by the states and by the federal government. His proposal also covered the taxation of salaries of all government employees. Fuller discussion of the proposal will be made next month.

In the meantime, it is pertinent to observe that opinions on the taxation of income derived from government bonds differs widely. Many authorities hold to the view that taxation of government bonds, and particularly municipal bonds, will adversely affect municipal governmental borrowing operations. They foresee increases in the cost of borrowing, i.e., a rise in bond coupon rates, to offset the loss of the exemption feature which has made this type of obligation popular with many investors. They fear lack of interest in governmental securities, less competition for new bonds, and subsequent increase of costs.

Some authorities, on the other hand, pertinently comment that the bulk of governmental bonds are now bought and held by investors to whom security of principal is of primary importance, with yield a secondary consideration. Such investors, they hold, will continue to find, even in government bonds lacking the tax exemption attraction, a comparatively safe spot for their money.

PLANNING
INCLUDING ZONING
Edited by
Alfred Bettman and Walter Blucher

FHA Appoints Regional Planning Consultants.—The Federal Housing Administration understands that, for the protection of investments in housing and other land uses, the technique of planning, including zoning, is essential. It therefore is building up facilities for a systematic encouragement of and help in the use of these techniques in the location and protection of housing and other projects. For instance, the administration has placed land planning consultants in five zones throughout the United States, with headquarters in New York City, Atlanta, Chicago, St. Louis, and Los Angeles.

*

Water Resources Committee Makes Report.—The National Resources Committee has published the report of its Water Resources Committee on a program of projects for the utilization, conservation, and development of the waters of the forty-five drainage basins in the United States. The estimated cost of these projects is $891,091,000 of which $47,000,000 is for further research and investigation. This report is the basis of a program which President Roosevelt has sent to Congress. The report includes not only the list of projects, but also a textual analysis of the water and allied land problems of each of the basins.

The method used in the production of this

report is an interesting example of a national and regional planning technique. The executive leadership in the organization of the work came from the National Resources Committee, that is, from Washington. Then through the instrumentality of the regional offices of the National Resources Committee, forty-five drainage basin committees were organized. The personnel of these committees included representatives of state and federal administrative departments particularly related to water problems and representatives of the state plannings boards. Each drainage basin committee produced a report which included a description of the water problems of the basin and a list of projects rated according to existing projects and degree of importance. These reports of the basin committees were then analyzed and reviewed by the central Water Resources Committee, with the assistance of the knowledge which it had accumulated and the services of its technicians.

Municipal Planning Needed.—At the time of the depression of 1930-32 there were about 1200 municipal planning commissions in this country. Some of them were very active in comprehensive city planning and were having a substantial influence upon the development of their respective municipalities. Some were active on specific functional projects, such as parks or zoning, but not upon what can properly be called comprehensive city planning. A large number were inactive, and many were only on paper.

Naturally the financial condition of the municipalities reduced this activity. Many of the commissions disappeared, others were reduced to skeletons, and in only a few cities, where the commissions had strong roots, did the old degree of activity continue.

In the field of state planning there arose the discussion of whether the technique which we call comprehensive or master planning was applicable, and this produced some question as to whether master planning was feasible in the municipalities. This question may have had some part in the decline of activity in municipal planning.

Happily there are signs of a reaction against these questions and skepticisms, and local planning is beginning to regain its previous momentum and prestige. For instance, the cities of Madison, Wisconsin, and Charleston, West Virginia, have now entered upon the making of comprehensive master plans. Many students of planning have long emphasized that unless a zoning ordinance, for instance, be the product of comprehensive planning studies, it is apt to be superficial and lacking in integrity and strength. That this viewpoint is coming to be generally accepted is evidenced by the newer forms of legislation, which no longer place the making of the zone plan in a separate zoning commission but in the planning commission where it logically belongs.

The degree to which our cities, in their need for and willingness to receive federal and state financial aid, have surrendered their control over their own development and policies, has been a source of anxiety to all of us who understand how greatly this local initiative and control are necessary for the welfare of the urban inhabitants of this country. City planning, that is, the use of comprehensive planning methods in the solution of problems relating to the development of the city, furnishes a counteracting force, one which tends to increase the part which local initiative and local thought will play in the determination of local policies and programs.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

P. R. Proposed for the New York Legislature.— In connection with the constitutional convention which convened at Albany on April 5th there is a growing demand for the application of proportional representation to the elections of the state legislature. The plan is being advanced first as the only automatic and fair solution of the state reapportionment question which has gone unanswered in New York since the census of 1920, and second as the only means of securing a healthy degree of representation for minority opinion in all parts of the state.

The successful use of P. R. for city council elections in New York City from districts larger in population than would be required for legislative P. R. elections in the rest of the state has proved the plan to be practicable if it is desired. And the probability that the convention will submit a number of

separate questions instead of a single document lends substance to the hope that a P. R. question may be submitted separately, as it was in New York City, if the public demand for it becomes sufficiently impressive.

Already the principle of P. R. for the legislature has been endorsed by the conservative Merchants Association, the Men's and Women's City Clubs, the Citizens Union, the Young Men's Board of Trade, and the City Fusion party in New York City and by the American Labor and Socialist parties in the state. Influential support within the ranks of the two major parties is developing.

On April 23rd a conference of delegates from civic organizations and political science faculties in many parts of the state, held in Schenectady under the auspices of the New York State Committee of the National Municipal League to formulate a program of fundamental recommendations for constitutional revision, approved P. R. for the legislature by a nearly unanimous vote.

Chapter IV of Volume VII of the report of the New York State Constitutional Convention Committee, appointed by Governor Lehman to collate factual data for the use of the delegates to the convention, is devoted to a discussion of "Proportional Representation for the State Legislature." It contains specific suggestions as to how the plan might be applied and arguments for and against it prepared by proponents of the two sides.

A DISTRICTING FOR P. R.

For a unicameral legislature, which the Schenectady conference and most of the organizations referred to above have recommended, or for a state senate, the report suggests P. R. might be applied with a fixed uniform quota of 60,000 votes and districts identical with the present judicial districts outside New York City (except for a special Long Island district consisting of Nassau and Suffolk Counties) and identical with the boroughs inside New York City. This would result, on the basis of last fall's Assembly election, in a body of sixty-four members, thirty-one from New York City and thirty-three from the rest of the state. Except for the isolated Staten Island district, which would be entitled to only one member, these districts would elect from three to eleven members each. Each district except Staten Island would elect representatives of at least the two major parties on the basis of last fall's vote, whereas at present large areas are solidly Democratic or Republican.

The report contrasts in the following table the results of this plan applied to the last assembly vote and the results actually secured:

NEW YORK ASSEMBLY ELECTION, 1937

Party	*Votes Cast*	*Assemblymen Elected*	*Members by P. R.*
	NEW YORK CITY		
Democratic	962,013 (49.6%)	50 (80.6%)	16[a] (51.6%)
Republican	520,099 (26.8%)	6 (9.7%)[b]	9[a] (29%)
American Labor	338,078 (17.4%)	6 (9.7%)[b]	5[a] (16.1%)
Others	117,958 (6.2%)	0 [b]	1[a] (3.2%)
Total	1,937,788	62	31
	OUTSIDE NEW YORK CITY		
Democratic	821,223 (38.9%)	11 (12.5%)	13[c] (39.4%)
Republican	1,250,101 (59.3%)	77 (87.5%)	20[c] (60.6%)
American Labor	25,596 (1.2%)	0	0
Others	12,128 (.6%)	0	0
Total	2,109,048	88	33

[a]If Queens cast 805 more votes (which it exceeded in the council election) and so elected a sixth member, the city results would be: Democrats 16 (50 per cent), Republicans 9 (28.1 per cent), American Labor 6 (18.8 per cent), others (City Fusion) 1 (3.1 per cent). This would give the Democrats exactly half the city delegation, which is exactly what they did get in the P. R. election of the New York City council.

[b]This table credits each candidate elected to the party which gave him most votes. The Republican and Labor parties combined in several New York City districts, the Democrats and Labor in one, and in several the City Fusion party supplied essential votes to Republicans and Labor. Only five of the assemblymen (8.1 per cent of the New York City members) are listed officially as Labor party members and 7 (11.3 per cent) are listed as Republicans.

[c]If the twelfth district cast 145 more votes and elected a fifth member the Democrats would still have thirteen (38.2 per cent of the total thirty-four) and the Republicans would have twenty-one (61.8 per cent).

A CURE FOR MINORITY RULE

It will be noticed that the two parties polled in the state as a whole almost identical totals of votes—1,783,236 Democratic, 1,770,200 Republican—yet the Republicans elected eighty-three assemblymen to the Democrats' sixty-one. In the Senate, on the other hand, there is a substantial Democratic majority. Under the suggested application of P. R. each major party would have elected twenty-nine members and there would have been five Labor members and one City Fusionist in addition.

Discussing the problems of government which such a situation might present, the affirmative argument in the report says:

PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT

"Some object to the use of P. R. for state elections because of a fear that it may result in no party having a working majority. This is a distinct possibility, as the tables above show, though the experience of the Irish Free State shows that it is by no means inevitable under the best form of P. R. If such a situation arose, as it often has even in places which do not use P. R., it would only be because no one party had the real confidence of a majority of the voters, for P. R. gives majorities as well as minorities approximately their fair share. In such a situation P. R. would simply prevent any minority from having a fictitious majority of the Legislature.

"Such a development would, however, require some readjustment of legislative practice. In the choice of a speaker, for example, two or more groups would have to agree on a compromise choice in order to give him a clear majority. If this could not be done by direct negotiation, it could be done by a preferential vote of all the members. Legislative leadership could be supplied by a small legislative council elected by the members by P. R. so as to represent the different groups in the right proportions, as recommended in the Model State Constitution of the National Municipal League. There should be no great trouble in acting on particular measures, for each one would be adopted or rejected by a majority, though it might be a different majority in each case."

The report also discusses pro and con objections based on complexity, delay, cost, territorial representation, chance, racial and religious block voting, and the contact between members and constituents.

■

The Campaign Is On in St. Louis.—St. Louis, Missouri, will elect its Board of Aldermen by proportional representation and its mayor by the type of preferential vote which Judge Seabury advocated for New York *if* an initiative movement now in progress succeeds.

Collection of the forty thousand names required to initiate a charter amendment started in the middle of April and it is hoped that all hurdles will be overcome in time to submit the charter amendment to St. Louisians in the November general election.

The movement for P. R. started in the Teachers' Union ("democracy in education and education for democracy") and proximate spade work was done largely by Dr. Paul W. Preisler, international vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers. Dr. Preisler is on the staff of Washington University.

The essential features of the charter amendment are: (a) every two years beginning April, 1939, fourteen aldermen will be elected for a four-year term by a P. R. election modelled along the Toledo plan; (b) the mayor, comptroller, and president of the board of aldermen will be elected by a preferential vote for four-year terms.

At present St. Louis has a mayor-council set-up with an aldermanic body of twenty-eight members one-half of whom are elected by the block method for a four-year term every two years. They are presided over by a president of the board of aldermen elected by the people for a four-year term. Since the present charter went into force in 1915 St. Louis usually has had an aldermanic body entirely made up of either Republicans or Democrats.

A general dissatisfaction with the method of electing the aldermanic body and the probable support of the *Star-Times* and the *Post-Dispatch* give considerable hope of the passage of the amendments.

In 1916 a small group of St. Louisians attempted to change the method of electing the aldermen to the list system of proportional representation. This was beaten, partly because P. R. was little known at the time, partly because the unfairness of the St. Louis

method had not yet been recognized, and partly because the significance of the election was lost sight of in the intense Wilson-Hughes presidential election which occurred at the same time. However, it made a creditable showing.

The proposed amendment is realistic rather than one that would meet the ideal hopes of its advocates. It retains the present lame-duck half of the aldermanic body with its overlapping terms; it is not accompanied by a city manager proposal. It is recognized that P. R. under such circumstances stands a chance of being discredited in the eyes of those who fail to recognize its full import. But it is the hope of the sponsors of the movement that it will pave the way for a smaller council elected all at once by P. R. and ultimately for all the provisions of the model city charter.

EDWARD DOWLING, S.J.

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Prospects Good in Illinois.—The results of the primary election of April 12th were encouraging to most city manager—P. R. proponents in Chicago, principally because the victors were foremost in endorsing city manager enabling legislation. Some adherents have doubts as to just what the election figures portend for the city manager movement in the future. The main event of this election was the contest between the Kelly-Nash machine and the Horner-Courtney-Jarecki faction for the Democratic nomination for judge of the county court, and the control which it affords over the election machinery in Cook County. Since Judge Jarecki was successful in being renominated, most of the local politicians are predicting a heated mayoralty primary next year between District Attorney Courtney and the present incumbent, Edward J. Kelly, but no one can predict what part the city manager plan will have in that contest.

Early in the past campaign, the leaders of the Horner organization declared themselves in favor of the passage of enabling legislation for the city manager plan, such as that which was sponsored by civic organizations in the last session of the general assembly, which included optional P. R. Just prior to the election, however, there was somewhat of a scramble on the part of most candidates for the general assembly to endorse the city manager bills. As a result a great many of the Kelly-Nash legislators who were responsible for the defeat of this legislation in the last session have now endorsed it. These bills require a vote of the people in any city desiring to adopt the city manager form of municipal government, and the issue on them has been very positively fixed by city manager proponents to the effect that to oppose this legislation is to oppose the principle that the people of any city should have the right to choose their own form of local government. Candidates invariably favor that principle in a campaign.

The one dark spot in the city manager movement has been the attitude of the Chicago Federation of Labor towards the plan. The federation has gone on record as opposed to the movement in a report which many responsible labor leaders feel does not display the attitude of labor in Chicago toward better government. The *Chicago Federation News*, the publication of the federation, has been conducting a series of radio talks in opposition to the plan over WCFL, the federation radio station. The medium for these radio talks is former Municipal Court Judge John H. Lyle, who was once a candidate for the Republican nomination for mayor against William Hale Thompson. Some city manager proponents consider it an asset to the movement to have Judge Lyle against the plan, but the majority regard the whole affair as unfortunate. While it is incomprehensible to most proponents how the Federation of Labor can tolerate the use of its radio station and the *Federation News* for the many misstatements and false statements issued by Judge Lyle, there is some evidence that such action is having an opposite effect from that intended. Labor groups are beginning to endorse the plan, and proponents feel that the endorsement of labor in general will be gained as soon as all the facts can be presented to it.

The campaign for the city manager plan and proportional representation in Chicago is in general looking very bright. The Chicago City Manager Committee has begun an intensive fund-raising campaign for a goal of a quarter of a million dollars. While the actual money-collecting has hardly begun, the preliminary organization work is progressing at such a rapid and successful rate that the achievement of the goal seems assured.

For the last six months, the City Manager Committee has had a full-time executive secretary, Mr. Roger Dunn, and as a result its work has increased even more than could be ordinarily expected from the establishment of that position. The committee now has three or four full-time district workers and is doing effective work in every field. The activity of other organizations interested in the city manager movement has also progressed rapidly during the past year. The League of Women Voters is placing more emphasis on the plan, as are many other organizations. The Illinois Council Manager Conference, which is looked upon as the policy-forming body for the movement because of its membership of delegates of the leading civic organizations of the city, is meeting regularly and working effectively.

The City Manager Committee of the City Club, which has concentrated its efforts on legislation and research during the past four years, has just released a new and comprehensive report on the city manager plan and proportional representation, *The City Manager Plan—The Way to Better Government.*

It has been disappointing to members of the City Club's City Manager Committee that proportional representation has not been given a position of more prominence in the campaign, even though the trend is definitely towards more emphasis on it. While the majority of the Chicago papers are sympathetic toward the city manager plan, none of them considers proportional representation with enthusiasm. The hesitancy of the larger papers in taking up proportional representation may be due to the way their foreign correspondents confuse the election systems of Europe with the Hare system. While there is no dominating support for P. R. as yet, there is also no strong opposition. Even the spoils politicians have paid little attention to it.

City manager organizations are now urging Governor Horner to include city manager legislation in his call for a special session of the general assembly which he is expected to issue before this note appears in print. If he does include it, there will be a possibility of Chicago operating under the plan by the end of 1939.

ROBERT E. GARRIGAN
Chicago City Club

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION NOTES

Edited by Robert M. Paige

Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy.—The work upon which this commission's full-time staff was engaged during 1937 is indicated by the following list of subjects. To avoid details and save space, these are necessarily in summarized form.

This list does not include the subjects of numerous conferences and consultations with civic groups and others, nor the subjects of miscellaneous requests for data, etc., answered by the staff, such requests averaging about eighteen a month. Subjects to which only tentative consideration was given are omitted also.

Collected and compiled data on sharing of state motor vehicle revenues with cities;

Studied trends of state gasoline taxes and effect of diversion on the city;

Followed and analyzed effect on city of various bills before legislature;

Studied budget forms and budget practices of various states;

Studied state accounting system and fiscal reporting and made informal recommendations;

Analyzed city welfare relief costs and the proposed financial requirements;

Studied Maryland state budget proposals, pension proposal, and financial plan;

Collected data bearing on the state's plan to construct an office building;

Studied effects of state fiscal policy on city and county taxpayers; analyzed the effect of unequal assessment basis, the cost of revenue shared by the state, the cost to the city of the $12,000,000 bond issue for relief, the sharing of gasoline taxes and funds collected for education, and the state public improvement bond issue;

Outlined an immediate and a long-range program for reorganization of and improvements in the state government;

Coöperated in survey of the administrative organization and business practices in the Emergency Charity Association;

Studied municipal institutional purchasing in Baltimore, followed up results, examined

practices elsewhere, studied informal bid procedure, and distribution method of purchasing;

Studied administrative organization of city government, exploring certain weaknesses and looking towards establishing, by charter provisions, certain systems already installed and to be recommended;

Collected and compiled data on municipal appropriations for the support of art museums;

Recommended to state the adoption of the bid-the-rate method for selling bonds;

Followed up the bid-the-rate recommendation made to the city in 1935 with special supplemental memorandum of additional and supporting data;

Surveyed municipal recreation policies;

Compiled and issued annual *Statement of Pertinent Financial Data, City of Baltimore;*

Made special study to develop the cost to the city and the benefits to be derived from the proposed state bond issue for various public improvements throughout the state;

Studied and compiled tables showing interest and penalties paid by delinquent taxpayers and effect of tax payments on current financial requirements including temporary borrowings;

Studied the trend and cost of government, the revenue problem, and the present procedure in budget-making and fixing the city tax rate;

Coöperated with the official committee studying our recommendations for a system of city planning with particular regard to the application of the proposed commission's authority in dealing with other agencies of the city government, amplifying recommendations previously issued;

Studied and prepared various analyses of the budget problem for 1938 and surveyed revenue prospects;

Studied refuse collection field practices and results in Baltimore and elsewhere; prepared questions to explore the proposal to abandon the contract system;

Compiled and revised data regarding bond sales and cost to city of Baltimore since 1919;

Continued study of city payroll and personnel system; prepared annual compilation of classified positions and salaries;

Studied delinquent taxes, their occurrence, and analysis of payment experience;

Followed up report on permanent registration and voting machines, investigating results elsewhere and conferring with local officials and groups both in Baltimore and other cities; examined specifications and contract forms for voting machines elsewhere and coöperated in discussion of specifications and contract for Baltimore;

Studied operations of municipal real estate departments elsewhere;

Followed up report on asphalt repairs;

Examined city market revenue and expense;

Studied city's daily bank balances and practice in transferring funds from city collector to city register.

An appreciable amount of time was also devoted to routine follow-up work, to analyzing monthly reports of the city and state, revising basic data files, and compiling miscellaneous statistical studies.

Twenty-six reports, memoranda, bulletins, or special communications were issued during the year, and a number of miscellaneous informal presentations were made.

D. Benton Biser, *Director*

Bureau of Municipal Research of Des Moines.—The bureau's record during the past year is one of the best in its career with respect to rendering direct and tangible savings to its subscribers and incidentally to all citizens.

1. *The 1937 Assessment.* By its disclosures regarding the "district discounts" granted by the city assessor in the 1937 real estate assessment, the bureau has provided convincing evidence for its subscribers and others who are seeking reductions of unjust assessments in the district court. In addition, the bureau's disclosure that the Des Moines city assessor assessed real estate at a higher percentage of the market value than was done in other cities of the state, caused the Des Moines city council to cut $14,000,000 from the real estate valuations originally made by the city assessor. This will save Des Moines taxpayers $50,000 a year on the state tax of 3.45 mills, because it will be paid on a lower valuation.

2. *The 1938 Tax Levy Cut.* Credit for the $400,000 (three-mill) reduction by the State Tax Appeal Board in proposed city and school tax levies is shared by the bureau and

the Des Moines Real Estate Board. The bureau furnished virtually all of the statistical data justifying the reductions secured.

3. *Appointment of New Fire Chief.* The bureau was active in the fight last summer to select a fire chief as the result of a real, competitive civil service examination. The bureau secretary, upon invitation, helped prepare a portion of the examination questions respecting municipal finance. As a result a capable new fire chief was chosen.

4. *City Manager Campaign.* The beneficial changes in the personnel of the new city council largely resulted from arousing the voters during the recent city manager campaign to the need for such a change. The bureau supplied most of the statistics for the campaign and actively helped in carrying it on.

5. *Annual Deficits Eliminated.* City deficits should never happen again as a result of a law prepared by the bureau and passed by the legislature in 1937. This act provides that the city can spend only 95 per cent of its estimated tax levy (thereby making due allowance for uncollected taxes) and it cannot estimate miscellaneous receipts larger than the amount actually collected during the previous year.

6. *Poor Relief Survey.* The bureau is making the first comprehensive survey of the total local cases and costs of poor relief of all kinds. Poor relief cases have increased from about 1,300 in 1923 or fifteen years ago to over 13,000 now. During the same time the cost has increased from about $400,000 to $6,000,000. Recognizing that poor relief on a large scale is likely to be here for a long time, the bureau will help to work out a long-time program which should be more economical than the present method of borrowing a large share of the money expended.

7. *Success of Public Bidder Law.* Nearly $900,000 has been collected in delinquent taxes during the last three years as a result of the public bidder law sponsored by the bureau several years ago. It is doubtful that more than $100,000 of the $2,000,000 delinquent taxes could have been salvaged under the old scavenger tax sale procedure which this law abolished. It is quite likely that over 50 per cent of delinquent taxes eventually will be salvaged.

C. A. Crosser, *Secretary*

LITTLE ROCK, WHAT NOW?

(Continued from Page 264)

But in the final analysis it was the law which proved the greatest handicap. It will be well worth noting whether anything is done about act 311 when the Arkansas legislature meets again in regular session next January. If in the months to come the proponents and opponents of home rule in Little Rock last February can get together and work out a plan for a fair, practical, and simple referendum on the city manager issue, it may be that Little Rock eventually will get a better, more modern plan of government.

As the *Arkansas Democrat* noted wisely on February 15th, the day after the home rule debacle:

> The movement for a city manager form of government is not dead. It will come back under more favorable conditions and we predict that eventually it will be adopted. Doubtless the full force of jobholders will be working against it, as they did in the election yesterday, but the people will have learned more of the virtues of the plan. They will vote their convictions and not their fears.

No less certain of the ultimate triumph of management was the *Arkansas Gazette,* which said editorially the following day:

> Little Rock is going to have city manager government sooner or later. . . . If the people of Little Rock get city manager government, as they will in due time, they will never get it from officeholders and politicians, or from special interests with their lawyers and political allies. Little Rock will have to get city manager government through the awakening of all the people to their own best interests.

These conclusions are as adequate as any the writer could draw on the basis of his Little Rock experience. They are well expressed. They pose only one final question—Little Rock, what now?

Recent Books Reviewed

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

Problems Created by Premature Subdivision of Urban Lands in Selected Metropolitan Districts. By Philip H. Cornick. Albany, New York, Division of State Planning, 1938. xxi, 346 pp. Paperbound, $1.00.

Premature Subdivision and its Consequences (reprint of volume listed above). New York City, Institute of Public Administration, 1938. Paperbound, $1.00; clothbound, $1.50.

> There is every reason why a relatively short lived administration, whether composed of corrupt, ignorant, or merely complacent officials, should not be permitted to impose a prior lien on future revenues for no more useful purpose than that of providing land agents with "fitting topics of eloquence."

In these words Mr. Philip H. Cornick, in his profound and thoughtful study of *Premature Subdivision and Its Consequences,* summarizes the conclusions which he draws from the experience of the last great boom. His study presents clear and graphically illustrated statistical data gathered with the help of many assistants provided by the Works Progress Administration, relating to Erie, Monroe, Onondaga, and Westchester Counties, New York, and, to some extent, New York City. But it represents far more than that. It represents wise and philosophic reflection upon what, for lack of a better term, we may call "the vacant lot problem." Mr. Cornick, in fact, has been for several years deeply engrossed in the relation of tax delinquency and other problems of local finance to premature subdivisions.

There can be no doubt that Mr. Cornick's study represents one of the most important contributions to the subject of local government and finance which has been made in recent years. He demonstrates from the statistics which he gathered—not only tabulated, plotted, and graphed, but digested—that the problem of tax delinquency is the problem of the vacant lot. What he found in eight towns in Erie County, adjacent to or not far distant from the boundaries of the city of Buffalo, is shown by the accompanying table.

Mr. Cornick's home city of Yonkers, with 134,000 population, ranking as the fifth city in New York State, shows in its five outlying wards 69.7 per cent in number and 18.29 per cent in value of all taxable property is in vacant lots. At the same time the vacant property in these same wards accounted for 68.98 per cent of all arrears of taxes in those wards, while of 17,344 parcels in arrears, 13,725 were vacant.

Mr. Cornick goes on to further demonstrate by the statistical method that improvements

	Percentages vacant parcels to total					*Number of parcels in arrears*	
Towns	*In numbers*	*In value*	*Total arrears*	*Arrears on vacant land*	*Percentage of vacant arrears to total*	*Total*	*Vacant*
Tonawanda	80.6	20.13	$4,252,849	$4,087,929	96.1	23,136	22,615
Amherst	76.8	27.97	1,934,824	1,715,142	88.6	9,636	9,143
Cheektowaga	78.0	28.33	1,731,148	1,326,433	76.6	16,374	15,410
West Seneca	77.4	18.84	578,520	460,993	79.7	6,241	5,905
Lancaster	72.1	14.70	371,633	242,367	65.2	9,611	8,995
Hamburg	77.6	16.36	452,103	359,866	79.6	9,830	9,302
Evans	85.6	15.13	105,694	61,409	58.1	8,580	8,049
Orchard Park	69.9	14.96	39,867	18,268	45.8	1,713	1,546

made for the benefit of these vacant properties were responsible for a large proportion of special district and general debt of towns and cities, and that it placed upon the improved property a heavy burden of taxation considerably augmented by the fact that improved property has to make up for the arrears on hopelessly delinquent vacant lots. He shows how the process of subdivision effectively destroys the value of property for rural uses and how the piling up of tax arrears and the confusion of titles make it almost impossible under existing law to put the property to any use whatever. He traces step by step the history of a subdivision and makes clear the method by which a subdivider can put on the market a subdivision provided with paved streets, sidewalks, sewers, water mains, and other appurtenances of urban living, with the outlay of only a few thousand dollars of his own hard cash.

The trick is in getting "corrupt, ignorant, or merely complacent officials" to provide for the financing of the improvements by special assessment on the lots benefited. Of course, when the boom breaks and purchasers throw up their lots rather than go on paying interest, installments of principal, taxes, and assessments, the speculative subdivider is himself ruined. The original owner of the land cannot afford to take it back with all the burdens on it, and the local government unit which laid the special assessments finds itself under the legal or moral necessity of meeting the principal and interest on the bonds which were issued to provide the money for the work.

Mr. Cornick makes very plain what he thinks of the idea of financing real estate speculation with public money. In fact, he compares it with the lending of government credit to railroad and other corporations which ruined so many cities at an earlier period in our history and which resulted in provisions in most of the state constitutions prohibiting such proceedings.

There is no doubt that Mr. Cornick's facts and figures could be made to fit many other parts of the United States with only slight change. There is no doubt that his conclusions are sound for every part of the United States which was affected by real estate booms. The personal observations of the reviewer have satisfied him that what happened in Erie and other New York metropolitan counties happened with even more disastrous results in the areas surrounding Detroit and Miami. Enough lots were laid out in Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties, Michigan, to have provided for a population of ten million people. Nature is now doing its best to hide the traces of pavements, sidewalks, hydrants, street signs, in an area of hundreds of square miles suffering from a blight far more severe than any within the ken of entomologists. In Coral Gables, Florida, in 1934, there were 2,401 improved parcels and 28,991 vacant lots,[1] while across the Florida peninsula in St. Petersburg there were 16,558 improved parcels and 64,737 vacant lots.[2] And these vacant lots, wherever they are to be found, are most of them what the St. Petersburgers call "submerged"; in other words, buried under a mass of back taxes and assessments far surpassing any value that the lots may have. Mr. Cornick has dealt in detail on a local scale with a national evil.

While the facts set forth by Mr. Cornick are exceedingly depressing, he does not leave us without suggestions for present cure and future prevention. The present cure is to be found in a modification of tax collection procedure which will make it easier, and particularly cheaper, for the taxing units to foreclose tax liens on vacant property and secure a good title in the name of the unit. He particularly recommends that all such units be given the advantage of an alternative procedure in rem, such as has been recommended by the Committee on a Model Tax Collection Law of the National Municipal League. He points out that the principle of in rem procedure has long existed in New York State. Its advantage, of course, is that it makes possible the grouping of large numbers of lots in a single foreclosure proceeding and does away with the necessity of service, either personally or by publication, on large numbers of almost unreachable claimants to the title. If, as was provided in the bill promoted at the 1937 session of the New York legislature

[1]See report of the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League entitled "Financial and Administrative Survey of the City of Coral Gables, Florida."

[2]See report of the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League entitled "Financial and Administrative Survey of the City of St. Petersburg, Florida." (1936).

by a committee of the New York State Bar Association, such proceedings could be had only in the case of property delinquent for four years or more, no serious danger could exist that anyone would be deprived of valuable property rights without an opportunity to be heard. The purpose, of course, of getting the tax delinquent vacant lots into the hands of public authorities is that such of them as can be sold may be restored to private use and to the tax roll, and that the remainder may be consolidated into some form of public domain to be used for recreation, park, or other public purposes.

The prevention of a recurrence of subdivision madness for the future, in Mr. Cornick's opinion, lies in part in laws restricting the power of local authorities to accept streets in which no improvements have been made and to create special districts for the purpose of making such improvements, the ease of doing which under the New York town law was largely responsible for the piling up of the voluminous debts in the metropolitan areas of New York State. He also speaks with considerable enthusiasm of the control of subdivision by the local planning commission as provided by the Ohio planning statute and practiced in the city of Cincinnati where it is customary to refuse to record plats for subdivisions unless improvements satisfactory to the planning commission have already been made upon the property. This at least is a plan for making the subdividers gamble with their own money instead of the public's. It has been a part of the Model City Charter of the National Municipal League for many years.

Every governor, every member of a state legislature, every city financial officer, every city councilman and county supervisor or commissioner, every member of a town or village board ought to be obliged to read a copy of Mr. Cornick's book, with certain passages illuminated, to the end that they should do something to "effectively protect local governments and their taxpayers against the assumption of onerous duties, obligations, and liabilities of the type which now arise whenever the owner of a piece of land suitable only for use as a cow pasture decides to cut it up into building lots."

THOMAS H. REED

Resources and Debts of the Forty-eight States 1937. By Edna Trull. New York City, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1937. vii, 110 pp. $2.00.

This volume is based on the sound theory that a millionaire is better able to pay a ten-dollar debt than a beggar. It contains not only a searching study of the amount of state debt and of over-all debt (including the indebtedness of local units of government) for each of the forty-eight states, but also inquires into the social and economic resources of each state.

The author has devised a system of index numbers whereby she attempts to measure the relative importance of the factors deemed most faithfully indicative of the debt-paying capacity of a state. Correlation of the index of ability to pay with the level of per capita debt thus permits computation of the true debt burdens in the states.

The study is significant chiefly because it constitutes an approach to a realistic concept of public debt. As the author takes pains to emphasize, little is now known about the science of intelligent borrowing, either by borrowers, lenders, or students. She disclaims infallibility or even excessive reliability for her indices. Recognizing the tentative character of her findings, she has yet found fairly clear proof that not only do the debt burdens of the states vary widely, but also that per capita debt in many cases bears little relationship to ability to pay. She appears justified in concluding that "in view of the marked divergences in borrowing trends and policies, however, it may be urged that a more universal knowledge and application of safe credit standards would contribute notably to the future financial stability of state and local governments."

MIRIAM ROHER

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The Administration of Unemployment Compensation Benefits in Wisconsin, July 1, 1936, to June 30, 1937. By Walter Matscheck and R. C. Atkinson. Chicago, Public Administration Service (Publication No. 58), 1937. 98 pp. $1.00.

Inasmuch as Wisconsin had eighteen months of benefit payment experience under its unemployment compensation law before benefits were payable in any other state, its pro-

cedures and experience have been of great interest to the rest of the country. This study is therefore an attempt to meet the demand for a thoughtful and reasonably complete analysis of the experience of that state. Together with an earlier report, "Unemployment Compensation Administration in Wisconsin and New Hampshire," it completes an account of administrative developments in this field in Wisconsin during the three years from July 1934 to July 1937.

Many administrative problems are examined in the report, including finance, which is one of the more important, organization and personnel, benefit procedures, and the compilation of statistics.

An especially interesting feature of the Wisconsin setup—the tying in of the public employment service with the unemployment compensation system—is fully analyzed. Findings indicate that a large number of benefit claimants are put on new jobs, and that there is little evidence that the worker prefers drawing benefits to having a job. It also seems clear that the introduction of unemployment compensation has not tended to submerge placement activities or to weaken the employment service, as some officials feared.

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How to Use Pictorial Statistics. By Rudolph Modley. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1937. xvi, 170 pp. $3.00.

Some "pictographs" are clear and concise; others fall short of their objective of isolating ideas from their irrelevant fringe and making them easily understandable. In view of the increasingly widespread use of this modern method of illustration in books, magazines, and promotion and advertising literature, it is well that the man who is considered the outstanding pictorial statistics authority in this country takes time to discuss basic principles of this comparatively new "vocabulary."

It is to be expected that magazines—particularly those which deal with technical subjects—and people who publish pamphlets, reports, etc., will increase their use of pictographs not only as an effective means of clarifying and transmitting facts but also as means to challenge interest in somewhat the same manner as do headlines and subheads.

Mr. Modley acknowledges Dr. Otto Neurath as the originator of this tool of communication and the man from whom he himself, as a schoolboy in Vienna, gained his original inspiration. But Mr. Modley does not follow Dr. Neurath's belief that the pictorial symbols can be international—a sort of pictorial Esperanto—because of the difference in dress, tools, and modes of thought in various countries.

The book contains a detailed table of contents, index, and bibliography.

A. W.

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Graphs—How to Make and Use Them. By Herbert Arkin and Raymond R. Colton. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1936. xvi, 224 pp. $3.00.

Published in advance of Rudolph Modley's able discussion on *How to Use Pictorial Statistics*, which is also reviewed in this issue, this volume is a complete handbook of graphical methods and procedures for both the beginner and advanced statistician which presents with an abundance of illustrations the latest and most effective techniques in graphic communication. The books are logical companions in the libraries of those whose fields of activity require pictorial or graphic illustration.

The graph has been used for two hundred years or more to present visually and in simple form tables of statistics, comparisons of numerical data, analyses of detailed information, etc. Despite the comparative antiquity of this method, there have always been sharp differences of opinion on the part of authorities who have sought to standardize practices.

In this exhaustive volume the authors present what they consider the best current technique, based on a survey of representative experience. The book contains 141 illustrations, detailed table of contents and index.

A. W.

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Summary History of Kansas Finance, 1861-1937. By Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council (Publication No. 60). Topeka, 1937. xiii, 57 pp.

A study of the development of the tax system, with synopsis of receipts, expenditures, and indebtedness for the state and local governments from the introduction of statehood through the fiscal year 1937.

ADMINISTRATION AS A SCIENCE

(Continued from Page 266)

in general principles of administration. Henri Fayol's "Administrative Theory and the State" falls short of the standard set in his *General and Industrial Administration.* The reader should not deduce from these critical strictures that the selection of papers is a disappointing one. Rather, they point to the observation suggested at the beginning of the paragraph, namely, that when separate articles are grouped together, it is almost inevitable that the papers as a whole will overlap at points and fail to present all the aspects of the subject.

The symposium presents an interesting cross-sectional guide to current approaches in general administration theory. Not only is the business-government convergence well illustrated in the work of Fayol, Dennison, and Lee, but the two most important recent methodological trends, the deductive and the sociological, find their representation in the work of Mooney, Urwick, Gulick, and Mayo, Whitehead, Henderson, respectively. Miss Follett's approach through the process of integration remains unique and important. Mr. Graicunas contributes logical and arithmetical elaborations on the span of control principle.

The most rewarding part of one's reading is found in the first thirty pages of Luther Gulick's "Notes on the Theory of Organization," the first essay in the series. Here one secures a compressed statement of most of the points made by succeeding authors, plus some crystallizations of Gulick's own rich experience. The latter part of his analysis is not so carefully argued and hence not so invulnerable. He says (p. 30) that "it is astonishing that so many who discuss administration fail to understand what a staff is and what function it performs in the organization." If the half-page discussion which follows was intended to assay this task, the effort, in the reviewer's opinion, falls short of the goal. The subject needs more extended treatment. One assertion, particularly, may be questioned. The contention is (p. 31) that no department in an organization can perform functions which are partly staff and partly line. "There is no middle ground." It seems to the reviewer that such a purist position leads one into the pitfall which frequently results from an uncritical application of extreme assumptions regarding scientific method, namely that everything is divisible into black and white and that there are no gray areas. We must beware that in the name of scientific method (a God as well as a thinking device) we do not place certainty above understanding. Both Urwick (p. 60) and Mooney (p. 96) recognize that staff and line activities are sometimes found in the same department. This is frequently true of finance and personnel agencies especially, and, as Mooney says,

> One question frequently asked is whether the development of personnel policies is properly a line or a staff function. The obvious answer is that it is both, for there can be no staff service in the segregated sense. Such service must always adhere to line responsibilities.

Many important truths of social organization will be found in the samples which Gulick and Urwick have selected. If only writers would take more care about stating their principles as principles should be expressed! We find Mary Follett, for example, saying (p. 161):

> Four fundamental principles of organization are: (1) coördination as the reciprocal relating of all the factors in a situation; (2) coördination by direct contact of the responsible people concerned; (3) coördination in the early stages; (4) coördination as a continuing process.

These and similar statements are valid generalizations concerning administration which, in some cases at least, are very significant, both as explanations and as guides to future action. However, perhaps they do not make it clear to the reader, without a full description, what basic proposition they are intended to establish.

The papers are not light reading by any means; however, they are replete with charts and illustrations which add to the clarity of the articles. It would be well if political scientists, following the example of their economist cousins, made wider use of graphical representations. The book deserves a wide audience among practicing administrators, and it is indispensable to those teaching administration.